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AN

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE

ON THE OCCASION OF

The Centennial Celebration

OF THE

BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE, 1755.

DELIVERED AT

THE COURT-HOUSE, CALDWELL, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 8, 1855.

BY

CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER.

WITH NOTES AND A MAP.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

PHILADELPHIA.

1856.

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The avails of the sale of this Historical Discourse will be appropriated towards the erection of the projected MONUMENTS AT LAKE GEORGE AND VICINITY.

The reader is referred to Note XXVII. in the Appendix.

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TO
THE CITIZENS OF WARREN COUNTY,
AND
THE VISITORS AT LAKE GEORGE,

This Discourse

ON
THE HISTORY OF LOCAL EVENTS

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.

THIS discourse, written at the LAKE HOUSE under circumstances not the most favourable to historical and literary labour, is submitted to the public at the request of the committee of arrangements for the Centennial Celebration.

The discourse originally appeared in the columns of the *Albany Morning Express* of September 12th, 1855. A few corrections and additions have been now made, and various NOTES are appended on topics connected with the history of events at the lake.

The author's interest in the general history may have tempted him to make too copious observations on the military details of the campaign, and on other points investigated in the notes. Utterly opposed to war, except as a *last resort in self-defence*, he does not wish to be considered as indiscriminately approving all the principles, and much less all the incidents, of the Old French War. An historical inquirer, however, may be allowed to investigate subjects of this nature, although they are in many respects averse from his general views and tastes and out of the range of his ordinary pursuits.

The chief reliance for true history in writing the discourse and notes on the war has been the *Documentary History of New York*, a memorial of legislative wisdom and patronage; *Sir William Johnson's unpublished manuscripts*, a rich mine for patient workmen; *Bancroft's History of the United States*, unrivalled in the power of philosophical discussion, in the extent of historical detail, and in the accuracy of great conclusions; and *Dr. Dwight's Travels*, full of good things. Various other works were useful; and references to them are made in the notes.

It cannot be supposed that there are no historical errors in this pamphlet; but it is hoped and believed that they are few, and their correction is solicited. The writer, being on his annual visit of recreation at Lake George, contributed what he could to render the Centennial Celebration interesting and instructive. A free-will offering on the altar of patriotism, his discourse is laid there, with the wreaths and commemorations of an honest yeomanry and of their sympathizing summer guests.

C. V. R.

BURLINGTON, N. J., April 17th, 1856.

Historical Discourse.

CITIZENS OF WARREN COUNTY AND VISITORS AT THE LAKE:—

THE echoes of a hundred years resound throughout the mountain-passes. The roar of provincial cannon thunders amidst the flash of battle; and, from noon to the setting sun, armies contend for victory on the shore of the peaceful and trembling lake.

To-day the great events of other generations are marshalled by memory into their original order and commanding position; and as Americans, victorious then, as in a greater conflict, we are assembled to commemorate the triumphs of the olden time. *Eighteen hundred and fifty-five* sends back to *seventeen hundred and fifty-five* the congratulations of a century, over the inheritance deeded and signed on the battle-field of Lake George on the 8th of September.

Lake George and vicinity is the classic ground of the Old French War. Every hill-top threw the shadow of warlike scenes into the lake, and its southern and northern shores were spectators of the decisive events which at length ended in the subjugation of Canada and the prosperity of the old American colonies. A very brief notice of the discovery and antecedent history of the lake will open to us a view of the Old French War and the battles of a former century. It will be my object, as a sort of ranger, to bring some account to you here, at the old head-quarters, of the events that occurred on this field of historical interest.

The sun and stars of thousands of years have imaged the glory of God in the crystal waters of the beautiful lake.

Ages before the Indian tracked his path along the mountains or glided his canoe through the depths of the water-valley, this landscape had reality in all the grace and grandeur of a divine creation. Before Iroquois, or Saxon, or Celt, looked with delight upon the foliage green of the hills or the emerald green of the lake, nature worshipped here in festival solitude and silence on the altar dedicated to the well-known God. The history of the lake, like the mist that sometimes covers its waters, obscures the far distance.

* * * "In the horizon of the Past
The cloudy summits of lost cycles rise,
Like cumuli, far onward to the point
Where distance vanishes in dreaminess."

The Indians were the original and undisputed proprietors of this secluded heritage,—the domain of the Six Nations, or Iroquois, including both this and the adjoining lake on the outskirts of their hunting-ground.* The first European or civilized man who is known to have penetrated this glorious Indian reserve was the celebrated CHAMPLAIN. In 1609, at the head of an expedition of savages from Canada against the Iroquois, he ascended the lake which now bears his name; and in his account of the expedition he refers to the "water-fall" between the two lakes, which he himself "saw," describes this lake as being three or four leagues in length, and mentions the distance from its head to be about four leagues to the river which flows towards the coast of the Almouchiquois, or New England Indians. Having given his own name to the larger lake, which was the scene of his achievements, Champlain was content to bequeath to the lesser lake the renown of his own record and an untitled nobility of nature.†

The next European who is known to have traversed these regions was Father JOGUES, a French Roman Catholic missionary, who, in 1646, was commissioned to ratify the treaty of peace made between the French and the Iroquois. On his way from Canada to the Mohawk, he arrived at the outlet of the smaller lake on the eve of the festival of *Corpus Christi*,

* NOTE I.—SEE THE APPENDIX.

† NOTE II.

or sacrament of the *body of Christ*, and, in commemoration of the event, he gave it the name of St. Sacrament.*

From this time not much is known of the annals of the lake, till General William Johnson encamped upon its shores, with his army of provincial soldiers, in 1755. During the interval, however, it is quite certain that the lake was more or less used as a channel of intercommunication with Canada, both in furtherance of friendly commerce and of hostile military expeditions.† When General Johnson reached the lake, he affirms that "*no house was ever before built here, nor a rod of land cleared.*" The ancient trees of the forest welcomed the old soldier in their unbroken and waving battalions, and gave him good ground to encamp upon, good lake-water to quench his thirst, and a good clear sky for his canopy.

The Old French War originated in the long hereditary national animosities between France and England. The British queen and the French monarch exchanged no visits of royal courtesy in those days; and, instead of banquets and feasting at Windsor and Versailles, martial music and the display of arms were everywhere the mutual salutations. The treaty of Utrecht, made in 1713, guaranteed to England all Nova Scotia, with its ancient limits, and to the Five Nations, as subject to Great Britain, the peaceable enjoyment of all their rights and privileges. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, was so indefinite in its terms, that, although a peace was agreed to, on the basis of the treaty of Utrecht, no settlement was made of the difficulties which had given rise to the war in America. There was a vague agreement that the boundaries in America should remain as they were before the war; but for a quarter of a century before the war the lines had been the subject of perpetual contention. Thus provision may almost be said to have been made by treaty for the speedy opening of a new campaign, and the fires of war were to be rekindled on the very altar of peace. What rendered the indefinite terms of the treaty peculiarly exceptionable and unfortunate, was the fact that the French had erected, in 1721, a fort at Crown Point, within territory always claimed by Great Britain and

* NOTE III.

† NOTE IV.

the Iroquois. So intent, indeed, had France been on territorial aggrandizement, that before the signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, she had erected nearly twenty forts, besides block-houses and stockade trading-places, on soil claimed by Great Britain.* The peace on her part was merely a truce to prepare more extensive plans of commercial and military operations; and, like the brief interval granted lately for the burial of the dead at Sebastopol, which the Russians employed to strengthen their fortress, so France, at Aix-la-Chapelle, truced England into inactivity, whilst she herself wove the banner of war and burnished her armour for a long campaign. Without regard to treaty stipulations, France commenced prosecuting her schemes of aggrandizement, not only in the American colonies, but in Nova Scotia, in the East and West Indies, and in the Mediterranean.

The object of France in North America was to obtain possession of the great valley of the West, and to connect Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts and trading-places, and thus hem in the colonies, and, perhaps, eventually gain possession of them and secure a communication for Canada with the ocean through New York. When the Ohio Land Company was chartered, in 1749, with a view to the settlement of the territory between the Monongahela and the Kana-wha, the Governor-General of Canada sent an armed band of three hundred men down the Ohio Valley, to retain possession of the country in the name of France, and to expel the English traders from its borders. In every practicable manner, the French aimed at maintaining the vantage-ground which English inactivity had enabled them to seize. They attempted to proselyte the Six Nations, to foment disturbances among the Indians in general, to undersell the British traders, to gain possession of Lake Ontario by building a large vessel of war, and still further to increase their power they had turned their trading-house at Niagara into a fort.

The first blood shed by the French within the limits of the old thirteen colonies, in the Old French War, was at the Indian village of Piqua, in Western Ohio, in the year 1752. A contest

which was to determine the future destiny of the mighty West, thus commenced on its own territory; and its influence was to be felt throughout Europe, in Asia, and in the West Indies, as well as in North America. In 1753, the French detached a body of twelve hundred men to occupy the Ohio Valley, and the Governor of Virginia despatched GEORGE WASHINGTON to protest against the invasion. This brave young man, then only twenty-one years of age, traversed the forests of Maryland and Western Pennsylvania as far as Fort Le Boeuf, which was within a few miles of Lake Erie. The French commander of the forces, LE GARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE, who was afterwards slain at the battle of Lake George, maintained the right of his sovereign to the soil. In 1754, Washington, now a lieutenant-colonel, was sent with a regiment to protect British rights in the West, and to finish the fort at the forks of the Monongahela and Alleghany Rivers; but, after an engagement with Jumonville, he was compelled to retreat to Fort Necessity, to capitulate, and to withdraw the English garrison to the east of the Alleghanies. France, at this time, was dominant throughout the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and England had not in the great West a flag to cast even a shadow on the soil.

In June, 1754, the first American Congress met in the city of Albany. Its principal object was to devise measures of defence, and to conciliate the Iroquois Indians, whose sachems assembled at Albany for conference. This first Congress is famous for the Plan of Union it proposed for all the Colonies on the basis of a Federal Government. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was the author of the measure, which, however, did not meet with sufficient favour to secure a trial at that time. The same illustrious man foresaw the future greatness of the country "back of the Appalachian Mountains," and advised the immediate organization of two colonies in the West,—the one on Lake Erie, the other in the valley of the Ohio, with its capital on the banks of the Scioto. Franklin, as a statesman, displayed on this occasion a penetration of intellect as vivid as the lightning which, as a philosopher, was flashed down to him from heaven.*

In view of the alarming state of things in the Colonies, England despatched General Braddock, as commander-in-chief, with two regiments of regular troops. War had not yet been openly declared between England and France; but both nations were actively pursuing their belligerent plans in anticipation of a speedy crisis.* Braddock arrived in Virginia in the spring of 1755, and summoned a council of the governors of the Colonies at Alexandria. Three expeditions were determined on. The *first*, under Braddock himself, was to march to the Ohio, obtain possession of Fort Duquesne, and then proceed according to circumstances. The *second*, under Governor Shirley, was to reduce Fort Niagara, and to maintain possession of Oswego. The *third*, under General William Johnson, was to take possession of Fort St. Frederick, at Crown Point, and drive the French from the colony of New York. The latter expedition was, perhaps, the most important of the three. The province of New York was more accessible than any other to the enemy; Fort St. Frederick, Fort Niagara, and Fort Presentation, were encroachments upon its immemorial jurisdiction; the province was central to the other provinces; its chief city had the finest harbour on the Atlantic coast; and the council-fires of the Six Nations burned at Onondaga, the head-quarters of these influential and brave tribes of Indians.†

The rendezvous of both Shirley's and Johnson's expedition was Albany. Most of the troops designed for Johnson's command arrived there before the end of June, and were obliged to remain for some time in camp, waiting for the artillery, boats, provisions, and other necessaries. In the meanwhile, the provincials became discontented with the inactivity of a long encampment; and Major-General Lyman was obliged to make short marches in the line of destination in order to prevent them from disbanding. When he had advanced to the "great carrying-place," he waited for the arrival of General Johnson, and commenced building a fort on the east side of the Hudson, which was afterwards called Fort Edward, "in

* War was not declared until the *following year*: by England on the 18th of May, 1756, and by France on the 9th of June.

† NOTE VII.

honour of the second prince of the blood of that name." On the 8th of August, General Johnson set out from Albany, with the artillery and other stores, and reached the "great carrying-place" on the 14th, having been detained two days by some dissatisfaction on the part of the Connecticut troops. On the 22d, a council of war was held to determine what route should be taken to Crown Point; and it was the unanimous opinion of the council that the road to "Lake St. Sacrament" appears to them the most eligible, and that it be immediately set about." It was further resolved to send forward two thousand men, to cut the road and to build "a place of arms and magazines" at the head of the lake. In addition to the news of Braddock's defeat, which had reached the army about a month before, the spirits of the troops were now depressed by a report that the French were advancing towards Crown Point in overwhelming numbers; and the Indians declared that the English were no match for them, but must be surely defeated. Johnson writes that he ought to have eight thousand men, and that the reinforcements ought to advance as rapidly as possible.

On the 26th of August, Johnson sets out for Lake St. Sacrament, a distance of about seventeen miles; and, after three day's marching, reaches there, or rather *here*, on the evening of the 28th. What a sight was such a lake to an army of men that had never before looked upon its mountain-guarded waters! Often did Johnson, and Lyman, and Williams, and Hendrick, with their companions-in-arms, gaze with wonder at a scene whose enchantments are fresh with the morning light and renewed with the setting sun.

"Alas! beside that beauteous wave
Shall many an unreturning brave
Find his last bivouac—the grave!
In his lost home his name grow dim,
And low woods sigh his requiem!"

The name of the lake was changed by Johnson from St. Sacrament to Lake George, "not only in honour to his Majesty, but to ascertain his undoubted dominion here"—a name now become historical, and properly enough commemorative

of provincial times, and of the important events that occurred under the reigning king.*

The plan of operations arranged by General Johnson was to construct a fort, proceed up the lake with a part of the army, as soon as the boats arrived, and take possession of Ticonderoga; and, waiting there until the rest of the army came up, proceed to attack Crown Point. On the evening of the 7th of September, however, the Indian scouts bring intelligence that they had discovered a large road cut from South Bay, and were confident that a considerable number of the enemy were marching to the "great carrying-place." Johnson, surprised and perplexed, perhaps doubts the report. About midnight intelligence comes that the enemy were discovered four miles this side of the "carrying-place." Nothing, however, was done for the safety of Fort Edward until the next morning, when a council was called. In the language of General Johnson, "the Indians were extremely urgent that one thousand men should be detached, and a number of their people would go with them, in order to *catch the enemy* in their retreat from the other camp, either as victors, or defeated in their design."

The enemy proved to be a French force of nearly two thousand men, regulars, Canadians, and Indians, under the command of BARON DIESKAU. This French general had arrived at Quebec in the spring, with nearly two thousand regular troops. His original plan was to proceed up the river St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and to capture the fort at Oswego. But Montreal was so much alarmed at the news of an English army on its march to Fort Frederick, and perhaps into Canada, that the Baron was importuned to proceed to the defence of Fort Frederick, which he finally consented to do, with great reluctance. Having waited some time for the approach of the English army, he determined to go and meet them himself. His scheme was bold and precise. He was to attack Fort Edward first, which was defended by a garrison of only four hundred men; then to fall upon the camp at Lake George, where victory was supposed to be within his reach, as the camp was reported to be destitute of either artillery or in-

trenchments; and afterwards desolate Albany and Schenectady, and cut off communication with Oswego. It seems, however, that when Dieskau was within two miles of Fort Edward, the Indians refused to attack it, on account of their peculiar dread of cannon; but, on their declaring a willingness to attack the camp, Dieskau changed his plans and turned towards the lake.

It is Sabbath-day in the provincial camp. The bustle of war does not prevent the arrival of wagons, work at the fort, and preparations for the campaign. But God is not forgotten by all. A venerable chaplain,* whose locks are white with age, is seen taking his station in the shade of the forest-trees. He is the chaplain of Williams' regiment, the third regiment of Massachusetts, and Williams is there. With him are Ruggles, and Titcomb, and Whiting, and other officers. The soldiers of New England attend with reverential appearance; and Hendrick and a band of Iroquois loiter in the distance, with their eyes turned to the assembly. After singing,—perhaps the 46th psalm, to the tune of “Old Hundred,”—prayer is offered up to the God of their fathers. The Puritan preacher then takes for his text the words of Isaiah:—“which remain among the graves and lodge in the mountains.” Were these words, alas! prophetic? Let us turn to the narrative.

The detachment of one thousand provincial troops, despatched to arrest Dieskau's progress and to aid Fort Edward, was commanded by Colonel EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, of Massachusetts. It set out between eight and nine o'clock on Monday morning, and consisted of three divisions. Colonel Williams starts in advance with the first division of five hundred men, halts at Rocky Brook, about half a mile from the place where the attack occurred, and waits for the other divisions under Hendrick and Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting. The Indians soon follow, in command of the great Mohawk chief. Being advanced in years and corpulent in person, he rides on horseback. Erect in the dignity of a noble Indian presence, the old sachem has cast his last look on the lake, and taken the road into the forest in pursuit of the enemy. During this halt of Colonel

* The Rev. Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow, Massachusetts.

Williams, the enemy place themselves in ambuscade. Our party then march forward, the Indians leading the way, and enter the defile. One of the enemy's muskets going off prematurely, they are discovered, and immediately they commence the attack on our Indians. The warwhoop resounds through the woods, and volleys of musketry from the Abenakis Indians on the left and from the regulars in front strew the ground with the dying. The brave old Hendrick falls,—a conspicuous mark to men of unerring aim. The Mohawks, uncertain and alarmed, move back to where Colonel Williams is, a short distance behind; and at the same moment our troops march up to their support. The engagement becomes general. At this time, in the early part of the engagement, Colonel Williams mounts a rock for the purpose of reconnoitering; and, in the act of ordering his men to go higher up the hill on the right, he is immediately shot down. It soon became evident to our officers that the French had posted themselves on both sides of the road for the purpose of surrounding and cutting off the detachment. A retreat was, therefore, ordered, which was conducted with consummate skill by Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, of New Haven, who had previously distinguished himself at the taking of Louisburg, Nova Scotia. The firing had been heard at the camp, about two hours after the departure of the detachment. It drew nearer and nearer. Our men were retreating; and General Johnson orders Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, at the head of three hundred men, to cover the retreat, which was accomplished with some success. Although defeated by superior numbers, our men had fought bravely. Rallying for a short time behind the Bloody Pond, they brought many of the enemy to the earth. It was afterwards found that nearly one half of the killed on both sides had fallen in the desperate preliminary encounter of the morning.

The Americans were encamped about a quarter of a mile from the head of the lake, being protected on either side by a low thick-wooded swamp. After the march of the detachment, General Johnson drew up some heavy cannon from the margin of the lake, a distance of about five hundred yards

from his front. Trees were also felled to form a breastwork, the proper intrenchments having been unaccountably neglected. On some of the eminences to the left, where Fort George now stands, cannon were drawn up and advantageously posted. After these hurried preparations of a few hours, our retreating soldiers come in sight in large bodies, with the enemy in full pursuit. Among those who climb the intrenchments, Hendrick and Williams are not seen. All is confusion. But, behold, Dieskau halts! For nearly fifteen minutes, when within one hundred and fifty yards of the encampment, the French general, instead of making a bold advance upon the lines, which the disorder of the retreating corps might have made successful, is compelled to pause, as though Providence had issued to him a superior command. The cause of this delay is not fully ascertained. It may have been owing either to the surprise at finding artillery arrayed against him, and the consequent difficulty of bringing the Indians up to the conflict; or it may have been with the view of giving time for the Canadians and Indians to get on either flank and make a simultaneous attack with the regulars posted on the centre. Whatever was the cause of the delay, it probably lost Dieskau the victory. The provincials had time to rally and to reduce their plan of defence to better order; and, when the French opened their fire, the distance was too great to produce much effect. The artillery of the provincials gave them an advantage in the battle. It was served by Captain William Eyres, an English officer despatched by General Braddock to accompany the expedition. The battle at the camp began between eleven and twelve o'clock; and the wonder is that the French, with inferior numbers and without artillery, could sustain the conflict for more than four hours. The attack on the centre by the regulars was obstinately persevered in for more than an hour. This proving unavailing, Dieskau then attacked the right, where, on account of there being no cannon, there seemed a better prospect of success. A heavy loss of the provincials occurred in this quarter, in the regiments of Titcomb, Ruggles, and Pomroy; but their bravery corresponded with the emergency, and the enemy could gain no advantage

in that direction. In their attempt to pass over the intrenchments, the old-fashioned musket, in the hands of brave New England farmers, did terrible work. The battle on the right raged for nearly two hours, when Dieskau again attacked the front, and then the right and the left, and at last attempted to come in on the rear of the army, when General Lyman, perceiving the danger, ordered some shells to be thrown, which, together with the fire of some thirty-two pounders, made the enemy retire in great disorder. The Indians, who, at an early period in the battle, had taken possession of the rising ground near where Fort William Henry now stands, were soon terrified by shots from a cannon which was in position on one of the eminences near Fort George. After a long conflict, sustained chiefly by the regulars, the French begin to fly. Victors in the morning, the survivors hurry back at the setting sun, vanquished, wearied, and dreading their doom. Dieskau, severely wounded, is taken prisoner.

As the English neglected to pursue, the French halted about three miles from the camp, near Bloody Pond and Rocky Brook, where the engagement of the morning had been renewed. The halt at this particular spot seems to have been partly owing to the desire of the Indians to obtain plunder and to secure the scalps of those who had fallen in the early engagement; but it is a busy day, and they must think of their own scalps. At seven o'clock in the evening, a reinforcement from Fort Edward of two hundred men falls unexpectedly upon them, under the command of Captain William McGinnes, of Schenectady. After a contest of two hours, our party gained possession of the baggage and ammunition of the French, which was conveyed to the camp the next morning; and the French retreated still farther towards Lake Champlain, learning the danger of encamping for the night too near their foe.

The victory was decisive. If the enemy had been pursued without delay, the whole body might have been cut off and made prisoners. General Johnson's first error was in neglecting an immediate and vigorous pursuit. General Lyman urged it with unusual vehemence, and the spirit of officers and men,

aroused by war and flushed by triumph, was equal to the endurance. When the tide of battle is once turned, it sweeps against the vanquished with terrific impetuosity. If that tide in our affairs had been taken at its flood, it might have led our army to the double fortune of a victory on the battle-field and the capture of the enemy in their flight. Instead of pursuing, our army retired to their encampment on the shores of the tideless lake, content, like it, with repose after the surges of the day. General Johnson excused his conduct by the plea that he had reason to expect a renewal of the attack, and that it was dangerous to weaken the main body by detachments to scour the country. But the enemy was in no condition to rally after the loss of their General and of almost all the regular soldiers; and the true way to strengthen the main position of the victors was to take advantage of the enemy's defeat by throwing out detachments to cut them off before reaching their boats on Lake Champlain. The enemy were far more fatigued than the Americans, in consequence of their forced marches towards the camp; and there can be little doubt that, had the opinion of General Lyman and other officers prevailed, Dieskau's band would never have seen Ticonderoga or Fort St. Frederick.

General Johnson's second capital error was in not carrying forward with alacrity the immediate object of his expedition—which was the reduction of Crown Point. The idea seems early to have gained entrance into the General's mind that the victory at Lake George was glory enough for one campaign. Only ten days after the battle, on the 18th, he writes that it is doubtful whether the expedition can advance to Ticonderoga this year. At a council of war, however, held four days later, the officers unanimously decided that it was best to proceed as soon as the expected reinforcements had arrived. Governor Shirley remonstrated with Johnson against his reluctance to push forward his army, and, in a letter to him dated the 25th of September, says:—"If nothing further could be done in this campaign than gaining Ticonderoga, yet that would be carrying a great point for the protection of the country behind,

this year, and facilitation of the reduction of Fort St. Frederick the next spring.”*

Whilst waiting for reinforcements, it was decided to build a fort—the officers being in favour of a small stockade fort, capable of holding one hundred men, whilst Johnson desired the erection of a large one, capable of defence against an army with artillery. Finally, Johnson’s plan was adopted. The months of September and October passed away in sending out scouts and in fort-building, until the men became dispirited, wearied, and desirous of returning home. Towards the end of October, the council of officers decided that, on account of the lateness of the season, the disaffection of the soldiers, and the want of supplies, it was inexpedient to proceed with the expedition. At this time there were four thousand five hundred men in the camp. The great objects of the army were thus unaccomplished, and, instead of occupying Ticonderoga, which of itself would have been an important position in advance, the delay enabled the enemy to gain possession of it and fortify it, greatly to our subsequent loss and disadvantage.

Notwithstanding General Johnson’s apparent errors in not taking full advantage of his victory, it is certain that the battle of Lake George has points of honourable distinction, worthy of a centennial commemoration.

Considering its time and circumstances, the battle of Lake George had a number of distinguished men to give character to the conflict. On the side of the enemy, who took the aggressive on the occasion, was BARON DE DIESKAU, an officer of some distinction in the armies of France. He had been selected as a commander able to take charge of the important work of superintending the military operations of the empire in the Western World. “Boldness wins” was Dieskau’s maxim. This he exemplified, at least in part, in marching with about two thousand men to find the enemy, and into the very centre of our military operations. Fortunately for us, “boldness” did not “win” on that occasion. Dieskau, at the head of his forces,

employs in vain strategy and military skill. The language of France and its crown-lilies of white are unheeded and dishonoured in the forests of America. The brave general receives a deadly wound; and he who had rallied battalions on the fields of Europe, and had sailed up the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain with the ambition to win a fame in the New World, sits upon a stump, in the midst of his slain, with hopes blasted, projects thwarted, army defeated, wounded in body and in spirit, and with the doom of death darkly before his eye. Dieskau, after his capture, informed General Johnson that, only a few hours before, he had written to the Governor-General of Canada that he was driving the English before him like sheep, and that he expected that night to lodge in General Johnson's tent. The expectation was verified; as prisoner, and not victor, Dieskau entered the American camp, and, instead of the congratulations of victory, he received the honest sympathies of American soldiers towards a defeated and wounded general, carried within their intrenchments on a blanket. After the lapse of a century, those sympathies remain fresh and unimpaired. Honour to the memory of the gallant and unfortunate Dieskau!*

Another of the distinguished men in the French army was LE GARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE. He was a brave officer, and remarkable for the zeal and energy with which he advanced the interests of his king, especially among the Indians, with whom he had very great influence. He had confronted Washington three years before at Fort Le Boeuf, which was constructed in Western Pennsylvania for the maintenance of the claims of France. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that the Indians of Dieskau's expedition were gathered together and organized. He received his death-wound in the forests in the morning, and his earthly greatness came to an end in the battle of September 8th, 1755.†

On the English side, General JOHNSON, the commander-in-chief, was a distinguished character in the province. He had been superintendent of Indian affairs for several years, and possessed an acute mind and executive talents of a high order.

* NOTE X.

† NOTE XI.

His private morals were bad; but, like other public men of that day and this, his moral demerit was, unfortunately, no bar to his public renown. The King of Great Britain conferred on him a baronetcy, and Parliament voted a tribute to his triumph of £5000. The name of Sir William Johnson will go down to posterity with titled honours and military distinction.*

Major-General LYMAN, the real hero of the battle in the estimation of some, directed the movements of the provincial army the greater part of the day. The command had devolved upon him in consequence of a wound received by General Johnson in the early part of the engagement, which compelled him to withdraw to his tent. Lyman was in the thickest of the fight, and guided the movements of the field with discretion and energy. He was an accomplished, educated man, high in rank at the bar, a civilian of some eminence, and deserves well of his country for his military services on September 8, 1755. It is not to the credit of General Johnson that he does not even mention the name of General Lyman in the official account of the battle. Nor was it very courteous in Johnson to change the name of Fort Lyman, at the carrying-place, to Fort Edward, which he did only a few days after the battle.†

Colonel EPHRAIM WILLIAMS was a prominent actor in the scenes we commemorate. In the former war of 1744, he commanded the line of forts on the western side of the Connecticut River, and resided principally at Fort Massachusetts, which was about three miles east of what is now Williamstown. In passing through Albany, on his way to the seat of war, he made his will on the 22d of July. After giving certain legacies to his relatives, he bequeathed the remainder of his property to the founding of a free-school on the western frontiers of Massachusetts, at a place which received the name of Williamstown, in honour of the donor. In 1790, the sum had accumulated to nearly \$20,000; \$6000 of which was used, with a similar amount from other sources, in erecting a large building for the academy. In 1793, the

* NOTE XII.

† NOTE XIII.

academy was chartered by the State as a college, and was called Williams College. It was a great thought in the mind of Williams to establish an institution of learning. His fame rests upon a more enduring rock than the reconnoitering-stone of a military officer; and his monument is seen, not merely by glances in a mountain-ravine, but on the highway of nations and in the heathen as well as the civilized world. It was Williams College that sent out the first American missionaries to Asia; and her graduates have the honour of originating the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The alumni of the College last year erected a tasteful monument to the memory of its founder. His remains were disinterred some twenty years ago. A stone, with the initials E. W., 1755, marks the original place of his burial, which was a few rods south of the monument, on the western side of the old road.*

Old HENDRICK, the Mohawk sachem, fell in the battle of Lake George. He was the greatest Indian chief of his day. Sagacity and moderation were the basis of his character. Brave in the field, he was wise in council. His integrity was incorruptible; and his friendship to the American colonies, whose chain was consecrated at council-fires, was strengthened in the heat of trial. Two characteristic anecdotes are told of him, as incidents of the battle of September 8th, 1755. His opinion being asked in regard to the number of men at first proposed for the detachment of the morning, he replied, "If to fight, too few; if to be killed, too many." The number was accordingly increased; but General Johnson proposed to send them out in three divisions. Hendrick took three sticks, and, putting them together, said, "Put these sticks together, and you can't break them; take them one by one, and you will break them easily." Previously to the setting out of the detachment, Hendrick harangued his people in strains of fervid eloquence. He was among the earliest killed. He had advanced so far into the ambuscade that the fire from the flank hit him in the back. He was at the head of the Indians, as represented in Blodget's view of the battle, and must

have fallen several hundred yards in advance of Williams; probably a third of the way between the monument and the present toll-gate. The Indians on our side sustained the chief attack of the morning. Out of two hundred men they lost nearly one-fourth, and every one of their officers. They complained to General Johnson that they had been sacrificed by the backwardness of our men. The sticks mentioned by old Hendrick had not been tied closely enough together.*

ISRAEL PUTNAM, who afterwards became a famous general in the American Revolution, and who shared with Warren and Stark the glories of Bunker Hill, was a private soldier in the battle of Lake George. He was one of Williams' men in the detachment of the morning. Lake George was a training-place of his future greatness. He was frequently employed, after the battle, in reconnoitering the enemy. He was the ranger of the lake. He was the scout of the mountain. His eye could detect an Indian's trail, and take unerring sight with his old musket at any mark worthy the snap of the flint. The rotund, jovial figure of "Old Put" has been often imaged in the waters of the lake and shadowed along the mountain-glens; and, in the regiment of Lyman, no man did heavier work than he on the 8th of September, 1755.†

The famous JOHN STARK was in the army, as lieutenant; but, as the New Hampshire regiment was stationed for the defence of Fort Edward, it is probable that Stark was on duty there, and not in the battle.

Other distinguished officers and men were on the battle-field, and among them was the brave Colonel TITCOMB, who was the only officer killed in the encampment, and whose regiment, posted on the extreme right, was obliged to sustain the brunt of Dieskau's attack on that side. The graves of Titcomb, McGinnis, and the other officers who fell, are, no doubt, with us to this day; and, although the dark oblivion of a century intercepts their individual recognition, tradition points the present generation to the "officers' graves."‡

Let us now notice some of the circumstances which gave to

* NOTE XV.

† NOTE XVI.

‡ NOTE XVII.

the battle of Lake George a renown beyond the mere numbers engaged in the contest.

I. The battle of Lake George is memorable in defeating a well-laid, dangerous scheme of the enemy, and in saving the province from scenes of bloodshed and desolation. If Dieskau had succeeded in overthrowing Johnson in his intrenchments, his advance upon Fort Edward would have been easily successful, and from thence his march to Albany would have been triumphant. Old Hendrick, at the Convention of the preceding year, had warned the province of its danger. "You are without any fortifications," said he; "It is but a step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors." The conflagration of our northern settlements would have been followed by the desolation of Albany and Schenectady; and, although Dieskau must have soon been compelled to retreat, it is impossible to estimate the bloodshed, plunder, and general losses which might have taken place, had not God ordered it otherwise. His providence was on our side. The victory of Lake George undoubtedly rescued the province from injury and woe beyond computation. Considered, therefore, in its immediate strategical results, the battle was one of the important engagements of American history.*

II. The battle of Lake George is remarkable for *its influence in rallying the spirit of the American colonies*. Much had been expected from the three expeditions sent against the French; but disappointment and sorrow had already followed Braddock's terrible defeat. That event had occurred only two months before, on the 9th of July. It was more than the moaning of the forest-pine in the ears of the solitary traveller; it was the blaze of lightning falling upon the mountain-oak in his very path, followed by the crash of thunder. All the provinces were amazed, awe-struck, paralyzed, for a time; but, recovering from the first shock of the calamity, they were aroused to avenge their loss. Their hopes were turned to Lake George and to Niagara, and not in vain. Johnson's victory was received as the precursor of a recovered military

position and fame, and was hailed as the means of deliverance from a bold and cruel foe. Few battles ever produced more immediate results in rekindling patriotic and martial enthusiasm. Congratulations poured in upon General Johnson from every quarter. Not only were the colonies filled with rejoicing, but the influence of the triumph went over to England, and the deeds of our fathers at the camp of Lake George became familiar to the ears of Royalty and were applauded by the eloquence of Parliament. The moral effects of a battle in which the forces arrayed against each other were comparatively small have rarely been greater and more decided in the whole range of military annals.

III. Viewed simply in a military aspect, the battle of Lake George was the *only successful achievement, within the thirteen colonies, during the campaign of 1755*; which is another item of its various renown. Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela, and Shirley's retreat from Oswego, brought ruin upon the expeditions framed for the reduction of Forts Duquesne and Niagara. Although the northern expedition failed in its object of reducing Fort Frederick, it had a show of glory in the brilliant success of a hard-fought battle. Success in one direction often overbalances disappointment in another. The victory of General Johnson was the great event of the campaign of 1755, solitary in the honours of its military triumph, and shining out, bright as Mars, from the clouds of night.

IV. The victory of Lake George occurred in the series of campaigns that *ended in the conquest of Canada and of the valley of the Great West*. Here, in the forest, was the base of a line of operations on which were wrought out great problems of war. The mountains of the lake were landmarks to conduct our armies from summit to summit of achievement, until, passing over all barriers, they found their resting-place in the valleys of St. Lawrence and Mississippi. Unknown results of territorial acquisition, and of political and religious destiny, lay concealed in the expedition which started for the capture of a single fort on Lake Champlain and for the defence of the limited boundary-line of a province. God disposes of man's proposals. The lucid purposes of an all-comprehensive Provi-

dence, undiscernible by mortal eyes, are brought to pass by the majestic developments of events apparently remote in their relations as trivial in their magnitude. The American victory of Lake George was not an isolated item of one campaign. It was more than a simple triumph in an unbroken wilderness,—a military achievement of the New England and New York yeomanry which saved themselves from destruction. Far higher its moral, political, and warlike connections. It headed a series of successes that were followed by the gain of kingdoms. It animated the determination of the country to take decisive measures for deliverance from French aggressions and agitations. “Canada, my lord,” wrote a distinguished New Yorker, in reviewing the operations of the campaign, “Canada must be demolished,—*Delenda est Carthago*,—or we are undone.”* The result was not anticipated at the beginning, but the natural tendency of the contest was the overthrow of French dominion on the continent. Johnson’s victory had a true influence of relation to this end. As the southern inlet near Fort George joins itself to the lake, whose waters flow to the north, and, tossed over cascades and waterfalls, pass into the St. Lawrence, so the expedition of 1755, identifying itself with a vast expanse of agencies, pressed forward the natural current of its direction, over the rocks and reverses of campaigns, into Canada. But Canada was only a part of the great acquisitions of the war. The whole Northwest was wrested from France, together with the valley of the Mississippi lying easterly of that river, with the exception of the island of Orleans. Thus we stand to day at one of the fountain-heads of American destiny.†

V. The battle of Lake George was furthermore memorable *in its suggestions of provincial prowess, and in its lessons of warfare to the colonies preparatory to their INDEPENDENCE.* The battle was fought by provincial troops, and chiefly by the hardy sons of glorious New England. The veteran regulars of Old England had been beaten in the forests of Western Pennsylvania, or remained inactive in the Niagara expedition. Through some unaccountable cause, the expedition, which was

* Review of Military Operations, &c., p. 143.

† NOTE XIX.

on the direct line to Canada, and nearest to the French reinforcements, known to be at hand, was consigned to the exclusive care of native colonial soldiers; and bravely did they do their duty. On these shores provincial prowess signalized its self-relying and unaided capabilities: and in this battle and in this war the colonies practically learned the value of union and the unconquerable energies of a free people. Putnam, and Stark, and Pomeroy, came here, as to a military academy, to acquire the art of warfare; and they all exercised their experience at Bunker Hill. GEORGE WASHINGTON himself, as a military man, was nurtured for America and the world amid the forests of the Alleghanies and the rifles and tomahawks of these French and Indian struggles. Lake George and Saratoga are contiguous not merely in territory, but in heroic association. Correlative ideas, evolved under varying circumstances, they are proofs of the same spirit of liberty, the same strong energy of purpose,

“And courage quailing not, though hosts oppose.”

The battle-scenes of the Old French War and of the Revolution are match-pictures in the gallery of history, to be handed down together to all generations. The influence of the Old French War, as the training-field of the American Revolution, was incalculably great. During all this period, too, a political conflict was going on in almost all the provinces, between their legislative bodies and the commissioners of the plantations in England; so that, while resisting from principle what were regarded as arbitrary exactions, the colonies were becoming conversant with their own military and political strength, which was laying itself up in store for the crisis of revolutionary emergencies.

In view of these considerations, the battle of Lake George well deserves some prominence in the country's annals.

A few words about the FORTS must not be omitted on this historical occasion.

Fort WILLIAM HENRY was built by General Johnson just a century ago. The original site of the *encampment* extended

from the lake a quarter of a mile, or upwards, with the old road as the centre, being flanked by the marshy land, and having the irregular eminences, on one of which Fort George was afterwards built, as part of the encampment. A few days before the battle, the site where Fort William Henry now stands was selected for the building of a picketed fort, to contain one hundred men, and Colonel Williams was charged with its erection, under the management of Captain Eyres, the engineer. General Johnson was from the beginning opposed to a picketed fort, and in favour of a regular military structure, capable of resisting artillery. This contest between Johnson and his officers was probably the index of opposite views in regard to the campaign at that time,—Johnson wishing to remain at Lake George and construct a large fortification, while the officers aimed at putting up a temporary defence and proceeding at once to Ticonderoga and Crown Point. After a contest of nearly a month, during which time General Johnson managed to secure the opinion of the general-in-chief and the acting governor of the State in favour of his views, and it becoming evident that the expedition could not advance this season, the council of officers agreed to change the plan of a small stockade fort into a more regular work, capable of holding five hundred men. This opinion was arrived at on the 29th of September, and the new fortification was immediately commenced, prosecuted with some vigour, and finished in about two months. The name William Henry was given by General Johnson “in honour of two of the royal family.” The site of the fort always had opponents. It was “faulted by Montrossor, the chief-engineer;” and General Johnson was early obliged to vindicate it from the objections still prevailing.

The history of Fort William Henry is a short and mournful one. It capitulated, after a brave defence, to the French general, Montcalm, on the 9th of August, 1757, and a large part of the garrison were inhumanly massacred by the Indians. The vestiges that remain are hallowed by ancient recollections; and the proprietors of the soil have patriotically determined

that the site shall be forever reserved and kept free from the encroachments of modern improvement.*

The eminence at FORT GEORGE was "lined out" by General Abercrombie in 1758—the year following the destruction of Fort William Henry; but the mason-work was not built until the following year, 1759, by the army under General Amherst. Its site was part of Johnson's original encampment. It was also the encampment of a division of Colonel Monroe's army when Fort William Henry capitulated. The garrison at that time embraced about five hundred men, and the intrenchments around the eminence held seventeen hundred. One of the first things that Montcalm did was to post a large detachment on the road to the south, for the purpose of cutting off supplies from the rear and of harassing the communication between the intrenchments and the fort. The eminence was intrenched by General Abercrombie, after his defeat at Ticonderoga.† In that disastrous action the English had about two thousand men killed and wounded. One of the Highland regiments, commanded by the gallant Colonel Grant, went into the action eight hundred strong, and came out with the loss of nearly one-half. The Presbyterian clergyman, before the engagement, ended his few remarks by saying, "My lads, I ha'e nae time for lang preachments; a' I ha'e to say is, nae cowards gae to heaven." Fort George has no special renown on the pages of history.‡

FORT GAGE was built in 1759, while General Amherst was at the lake. It was named in honour of General Gage, who commanded the light infantry. Gage was with Braddock at the time of his defeat. He afterwards received the appointment of general, and subsequently was governor of Massachusetts,—the last provincial governor that the old Bay State allowed in her councils.§

The battles, the forts, the intrenchments, the ruins, the roads,|| the graves, of this vicinity, are all memorials of the Old French War. That war resulted in the most important conquests. It was, in fact, a war of Protestant against Roman

* NOTE XX.

† NOTE XXI.

‡ NOTE XXII.

§ NOTE XXIII.

|| NOTE XXIV.

Catholic Christianity; and on its issues the destiny of the mighty valleys of the West was pre-eminently dependent. God raised up WILLIAM PITT, "the great Commoner," to preside over the affairs of England at this critical period; and through his glorious administration, commencing in 1757, England recovered her position among the nations and resumed her wonted superiority on the continent. Prussia was the only power that struggled with her, side by side, against the common foe. The greatest trophies won by England during the war were in this Western World. The possession of Canada and the peaceable enjoyment of her North American colonies were rewards worthy the struggle of an Anglo-Saxon kingdom.*

The peace of 1763 enabled King George III., who had recently ascended the throne, to carry out his design of over-awing the colonies by arbitrary power. William Pitt, the man of the people, resigned his office, and a different policy prevailed. The American Revolution ensued, and France, our former colonial enemy, became our effective ally against England. The Revolutionary War is naturally the one that most deeply stirs the heart of our patriotism; and 1776, the liberty-epoch in American annals, has a national priority over every other historical period. Yet not in vain does 1755 claim honour in these regions of the lake. Here the associations of the Old French War predominate; and history, interrogating nature, learns from mountain, and lake, and water-brook, and plain, that armies here fought for the rights of crowns and for vast territorial domains.

O thou Lake, islet-decked as with gems for maiden beauty, and intelligent, in the depth of thy clear waters, in scenes of the olden time, we hail thee to-day, Reminiscencer and Teacher! And you, ye Mountains, where come the four seasons, monarchs of the solitude, to pay the tribute of the year,—hail to you for the sight of your majestic presence, for the voiced memories of a century, for your glens reverberating with solemn sound the achievements of our sires! Ye Forts, weak in triple confederacy, the work of man and the contrivance of war, we

rejoice that your mission is over, and that ye stand like antiquarians with relics in your hands rather than as warriors equipped for the battle-field! And you, ye Graves, mounding hill-top and plain, scarcely distinguishable from the furrows of the harvest-field,—ah! Death, who digs deeper than the plough, has sown in you the seeds of resurrection,—seeds which the storms of centuries do but harrow for the reaping at the in-gathering time; ye are fertile with the bodies of men; and, when earth shall be buried in the ruins of its final doom, ye shall bring forth your tenants clothed with immortality!*

Every view of the lake and every pass of the hills have some tradition of ancient deed and story which this day commemorates. In the midst of the scenes of our historical festival, let us use our patriotic emotions in perpetuating the records of the past century in some consistent and enduring form. I venture to propose that a monument be erected *at the old battle-field of Lake George*, on one side of which an appropriate memorial of the contest shall be engraved, and on another side an epitaph to the courageous Colonel Titcomb and the other officers who died in defending their country. I also venture to suggest that another monument be erected to the memory of *Hendrick*, the famous Mohawk chieftain, near the spot where he is supposed to have fallen. Monuments are of great public use. They are pages of history to the people; they are the rallying-points of earnest patriotism; they are records of national gratitude; they are memorials of God's providential interposition; they are pleasing objects of sight to the spectator and traveller, and have been regarded by all civilized nations as worthy of the public expenditure, interest, and care. Thus may the old century receive fresh homage from the new, and an increase of glory emblazon on our country's flag the inscription woven in upon it at Lake George, of SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1755.†

One hundred years—ONE HUNDRED YEARS—are gone. Rapid is the roll of centuries. Majestic clouds in the firmament of

* NOTE XXVI.

† NOTE XXVII.

time, they fleet away, bearing on their diversified forms the light and shade of human destiny. Everywhere, as here, is seen the vanity of earthly scenes, except as they are connected with the ends of an everlasting kingdom. Results endure, but generations perish. Sleeping are the warriors that fought, the councillors that schemed, the people that acted. The Celtic sway of the Bourbon, once dominant on the lake, is silent as the graves of Champlain and Montcalm. The Iroquois have vanished from the forests and valleys of their ancient hunting-grounds; and the hardy race of Anglo-Saxon ancestry now occupy their possessions amid the landmarks of civil liberty and the institutions of the Reformation. Welcome the new century in the procession of ages! May the eras of human improvement be contemporaries of its advancing cycles, and its calendar abound in festival blessings for our country and the world. And to thee, OLD CENTURY, farewell! The good of the past shall never die. When mountain and lake shall flee away in the retinue of time, and the earth and the firmament be scrolled up for eternal judgment, the history of these scenes, and all human histories, shall be perpetuated in honour so far as they were tributary to the history of redemption.

APPENDIX.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

THE preliminary action of the citizens of Caldwell, the official account of the celebration, and a notice of the regatta, are appended to the discourse as historical incidents.

PRELIMINARY MEASURES TAKEN.

At a meeting of the citizens of Caldwell on August 31st, 1855, a committee was appointed to take measures for the celebration of "the victory at Lake George on the 8th of September, 1755. The committee issued the following announcement, in the form of a hand-bill:—

"THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION of the BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE, 8th of Sept., 1755, will take place at Caldwell on Saturday, 8th of September. A discourse appropriate to the occasion will be delivered at 12 M., in the Court-House, by the Rev. Dr. VAN RENSSELAER.

"Caldwell, Sept. 1st, 1855.

"THOS. ARCHIBALD,	} Committee of Arrangement."
"JOHN F. SHERRILL,	
"T. BOWEN,	
"W. W. HICKS,	
"S. R. ARCHIBALD,	

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT LAKE GEORGE.

This account of the celebration is extracted from the Albany Express of September 12th, 1855, of which CARLETON EDWARDS, Esq., was at that time editor:—

We had the pleasure of being one of the large party which, on Saturday last, attended the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Lake George, at Caldwell. Taking lodgings with "mine host" of the favourite and favoured Lake House, we found the village alive with the bustle and preparations of the approaching *fête*. The ladies of the Lake House had taken the affair under their especial superintendence, had prepared a large number of decorations and flags and emblems, and by their enthusiasm and tact, shown in countless other ways, imparted a *prestige* to the occasion which secured its complete success. The

patriotic ladies of the Lake House were ably seconded by the gentlemen visitors and by the citizens of Warren county, under whose superintendence the following programme was established as the "order" for the day:—

Order of Arrangements, September 8th, 1855.

- I. A gun at sunrise.
- II. The procession will be formed at 11 o'clock, A.M., and proceed to the court-house. Minute-guns will be fired and the bells rung during the procession.
- III. Exercises at the Court-House: viz., 1st, Prayer by Rev. Mr. Goodman; 2d, Martial music; 3d, Address by Rev. C. Van Rensselaer; 4th, Music.
- IV. National salute at noon.
- V. Regatta in the afternoon on the lake, with music, flags, and appropriate decorations.
- VI. National salute at sunset.
- VII. Display of fireworks in the evening at the firing of the signal cannon.

The programme was followed out to the letter, and with a spirit and enthusiasm which we seldom see even in our largest cities. At sunrise a heavy gun broke the solemn stillness of the lake, and awoke those grand old echoes which a century ago answered the fatal guns of the American camp. At 11 A.M. the procession left the Lake House to the music of "Hail Columbia" and "God Save the Queen," the Revolutionary soldiers of Warren county and the ladies, preceded by their committee, being assigned the places of honour. The court-house was very appropriately dressed with American, French, and English flags. Of the address of the Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer our readers must judge for themselves; for, despairing of doing it justice by any report of our own, we have concluded, at the request of the citizens of Caldwell, to publish it in full. In addition to its graceful and scholarly tone, and the eloquence of many passages, which rise to the dignity of true poetry, it is a complete and careful account of a famous passage in American history; and, considering the perishable nature of the traditions and records of colonial times, should be preserved in some more enduring form than the columns of a newspaper. The people of Caldwell intend so to preserve it.

In the afternoon there was a beautiful regatta on the lake, under the command of Richard Davids, Esq., of Philadelphia, installed admiral for the occasion, and whose beautiful "Prairie-Bird," dressed with the American flag and variegated streamers, excited universal admiration. Altogether there were about twenty-five boats in the fleet, decorated with Scotch, Irish, English, French, and American flags; and the orderly and seaman-like manner in which the aquatic procession was manœuvred reflected great credit on the admiral of the day.

At sunset there was a national salute; and, as darkness gathered over the mountains, the rockets were set forth—fiery heralds and forerunners of the beautiful pyrotechnic display which soon illuminated the lake. And so—brilliantly illuminated to the last—ended a day which nature had favoured throughout with a cloudless sky and a pure and bracing atmosphere,—a day to be marked with white in the American calendar, and which was most nobly and appropriately celebrated on the classic ground of the Old French War. To the writer of this hastily-prepared and altogether inadequate report, himself a lineal descendant of one of the American riflemen who fought on that day, it was an occasion of especial pleasure and pride. One by one the gallant men who took part in those stirring scenes have passed away; the traditions are already becoming obscure and the records scanty, and it becomes us of this generation to gather them together and preserve them while we may. It will be seen, by a report elsewhere published, that the citizens of Caldwell do not rest content with the centennial pageant, but have taken measures for the erection of two monuments on the battle-ground—one to commemorate the battle of Lake George and tributary to the memory of those who fell in it, and another in honour of Hendrick, the gallant sachem of the Mohawks, who also fell on that memorable day.

THE REGATTA ON THE LAKE.

Written by a young gentleman in the "Ranger of the Lake," September 8th, 1855.

About half-past three in the afternoon the people came down to the shore in great numbers, to witness the "regatta on the lake," which was then to take place, according to the programme. The boats, in all about twenty-five or thirty, were beautifully dressed with flags, which the ladies of the "Lake House" had been diligently engaged in making for a week beforehand. From 10 o'clock in the morning until 3 P.M. the boats were anchored out on the lake, a short distance from the shore.

The regatta was under the superintendence of Commodore RICHARD DAVIDS, of Philadelphia, dressed in the uniform of an *Admiral of the Red*. His boat, the beautiful "Prairie-Bird," was decorated with flags, and his whole equipment called forth unbounded praise and admiration from all beholders. The boats, being ranged in front of the "Lake House," started in single file, the band taking the lead in the "Ranger of the Lake." They moved slowly on, in beautiful order, in the direction of Fort William Henry, the procession extending almost the entire distance. When not far from the southern shore, the boats made a beautiful curve, following in the wake of the commodore. Then, proceeding a short distance, they turned again to the left and formed in a straight line in front of the "Lake House," each boat coming into rank twenty or thirty feet beyond its neighbour, and the whole line extending a good distance down the lake. Then, at a given signal from the commodore, the band, which was in front, commenced playing, and the boats advanced in perfect order towards the "Lake House." When near the shore the boats turned to the left and formed in single file again, and then, turning to the right, each boat went to its respective wharf.

Before the exercises of the afternoon were over, the commodore proposed three cheers for the "orator of the day," which was responded to very heartily. Then three hearty cheers were given for the commodore; and, last, but not by any means the least, NINE cheers for the ladies. This cheerful ceremony concluded the exercises, and the people went home delighted with the regatta and loudly praising the skilful management of the commodore.

NOTES TO THE DISCOURSE.

* * * THESE Notes have been written on points which excited an interest in the author's mind while preparing the Discourse. There is some repetition, which could not be well avoided under the circumstances. The Notes are submitted to the public in the hope that the investigations contained in them may be found to elucidate the history of the locality and to answer some of the inquiries which may naturally arise in the minds of visitors and others.

NOTE I.—Page 6.

THE IROQUOIS.

THE IROQUOIS, or Five Nations, were the most celebrated tribes of Indians in North America. The traditions in respect to their early history are vague and unsatisfactory. The date of their *Alliance* was probably about the middle of the sixteenth century, or 1550. A Dutch missionary at Dionderoga, [Fort Hunter,] writing in 1746, states that, according to the best information he could obtain from the Mohawks, the alliance took place “one age, or the length of a man's life, *before the white people came into the country*,”—which latter event was in 1609. The names of the confederated tribes were the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. The name of the confederation was *Kono-shioni*, meaning *People of the Long House*, or a *United People*. This Long House extended from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and on the north to the St. Lawrence. According to Mr. Bancroft, “The immediate dominion of the Iroquois stretched from the borders of Vermont to Western New York, and from the Lakes to the head-waters of the Ohio, the Susquehanna, and the Delaware.” “The peninsula of Upper Canada was their hunting-field by right of war.”* The Tuscaroras, who were a branch of the parent stock, but who had settled in North Carolina, reunited with the Iroquois in 1713, and thenceforth formed part of the confederacy. The appellation of “*Six Nations*” is derived from this accession of the Tuscaroras.

The Iroquois were a brave, warlike people, and carried their conquests far and wide. In the language of Mr. Schoolcraft, “History, guiding the pen of the French Jesuit, describes them as pouring in their canoes through the myriad streams that interlace in Western New York, and debouching, now on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, now on the Chesapeake—glancing again over the waves of the Michigan, and now again plying their paddles in the waves of the turbid Mississippi. Wherever they went, they carried proofs of their energy, courage, and enterprise.

“At one period, we hear the sound of their war-cry along the straits of the St. Mary's, and at the foot of Lake Superior; at another, under the walls of Quebec, where they

* Hist. of U. S., iii. 244, 245.

finally defeated the Hurons, under the eyes of the French. They put out the fires of the Gahkwas and Eries. They eradicated the Susquehannas. They placed the Lenapes, the Nanticokes, and the Munsees, under the yoke of subjection. They put the Metoacks and the Mannhattans under tribute. They spread the terror of their arms over all New England. They traversed the whole length of the Appalachian chain, and descended, like the enraged Yagisho and Megalonyx, on the Cherokees and the Catawbias. Smith encountered their warriors in the settlement of Virginia, and La Salle on the discovery of the Illinois. Nations trembled when they heard the name of *Konoshioni*.* The Rev. Charles Inglis, minister of Trinity Church, New York, says, in his "Memorial concerning the Iroquois:"—"The spirit of conquest carried them far beyond the limits of their own native districts. They have extended their empire over a country 1200 miles in length from north to south, and 600 in breadth from east to west."†

The head-quarters or seat of the Iroquois council-fires was on the banks of the Onondaga Lake, among the Onondagas, who were the most central tribe. Various ancient tumuli, fortifications, intrenchments, and other works, in Western New York, are objects of great interest to antiquarians. In their best days, the Iroquois could bring several thousand warriors into the field. The number of fighting men, at the time of the Old French War, according to Sir Wm. Johnson,‡ was about two thousand. Owing in a great measure to the influence of Sir Wm. Johnson, who resided among them, the Iroquois remained firm to the English and American cause throughout that war, notwithstanding all the artful efforts of the French. In the war of the Revolution, the Iroquois took sides with the British against the Americans. The influence of the Johnson family contributed to secure this result. *Brant* was their most famous chieftain in the war of the Revolution. After the war, most of the Mohawks and many of the Onondagas and Cayugas retired into Canada, whilst the Oneidas and parts of the other Western tribes remained. In 1784, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and at subsequent treaties, they ceded away most of their ancient domain. The number of Iroquois now residing in the State of New York on the Reservations is quite small. The remnants of some of the tribes are to be found in Wisconsin and the Far West. A century has made a great difference in the power and possessions of the once famous KONOSHIONI, and, like the French, who were their inveterate enemies, they have disappeared from the high places of their former glory.

NOTE II.—Page 6.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

A remarkable example of historical coincidence is exhibited in the discoveries by Champlain in Northern New York, almost at the very time that Hudson, from the south, was ascending the river that now bears his name. Champlain was on the Upper St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain in June, July, and August, of 1609; whilst Hendrick Hudson sailed past Manhattan and up the magnificent Hudson as far as the neighbourhood of Albany, in September of the same year. They left memorials of their discoveries in the names which geography has made immortal.

Some account of Champlain may be interesting, especially to travellers on the northern lakes.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, of Saint Onge, was a captain in the French navy, and a military officer of scientific and literary attainments. He was a man of enterprise, of a bold, active spirit, persevering in the pursuit of his schemes, and well trained to

* Notes of Iroquois, p. 52.

† Doc. Hist. of N. Y., iv. 1091.

‡ Doc. Hist., i. 26.

carry them into execution. By command of the king, Champlain, who had just returned from a voyage to the West Indies, was ordered, in 1602, to accompany the Sieur du Pont Gravé, a wealthy merchant of St. Malo, into Canada. Setting sail near the close of 1602, Champlain reached Canada early in 1603, and sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal. His second voyage was in 1604, when he was absent four years, spending a large part of his time in exploring Acadia and its vicinity. He sailed the third time from France in 1608, and selected Quebec as the future capital of New France. He and his companions spent the winter in a few rude huts, which were the first European tenements erected on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

In the following year, 1609, Champlain headed an expedition of Hurons and Algonquins against the Iroquois; and it is in the narrative of this expedition that he makes an allusion to *Lake George*. The battle fought with the Iroquois was on a promontory, marked on Champlain's map as being in the neighbourhood of Fort Ticonderoga, and its scene was quite probably on that very spot. This location corresponds with the description of the locality:—"at the point of a Cape which juts into the lake on the west side."* It was "in forty-three degrees and some minutes latitude." Perhaps it was Crown Point.

Some writers have maintained that the place where this battle was fought was in Lake George, and that it was to the smaller lake, and not to the larger, that Champlain originally gave his name. But this idea is not only contradicted by the general narrative of Champlain, in which he gives no account of transporting his canoes to another lake and back again, but it is refuted by Champlain's map, in which the two lakes are put down, with his own name to the larger one, and with the locality of the battle on the shore of the same lake. Moreover, the reference in Champlain's narrative to Lake George does not authorize the conclusion that the battle was on this latter lake. Champlain saw Lake George "afterwards," but not on the occasion of his first expedition. His language is as follows, which we quote on account of its historical interest, this being the first description ever given of Lake George and its vicinity:—"I saw other mountains to the south, not less high than the former; only that they were without snow. The Indians told me that there we were to go to meet their enemies, and that they were thickly inhabited, and that we must pass by a waterfall,† which I afterwards saw, and thence into another lake,‡ three or four leagues long, and, having arrived at its head, there were four leagues overland to be travelled to pass to a river,§ which flows towards the coast of the Almouchiquois,|| tending towards that of the Almouchiquois, and that they were only two days going there in their canoes, as I understood since from prisoners of war that we took, who, by means of some Algonquin interpreters who were acquainted with the Iroquois language, conversed freely with me about all they had noticed."¶

It was doubtless the *intention* of Champlain and his Indians to pass through Lake George into the Iroquois country; but the Iroquois warriors, who had received intelligence of the expedition by their scouts, went forth to meet their enemies and intercept them before they came to the Mohawk settlements. Champlain left Montreal in the latter part of April, and the battle was not fought until the 29th of July—which gave ample time for the Iroquois to receive intelligence of the movements of their enemies and to advance against them. Champlain "*afterwards*" saw the waterfall and Lake George. As he spent almost the whole of his subsequent life in Canada, it is not surprising that he should take a future opportunity to visit "the waterfall" and the "smaller lake;" but as such excursion may not have been on public business, or at least was not attended with any results of public importance, no mention is made of it in his public reports or writings.

The first use of *fire-arms* in the State of New York was in this battle between the French Indians and the Iroquois; and Champlain himself fired the first gun which echoed among

* Voyages de Champlain, i. 198.

† Between the two lakes.

‡ Lake George.

† The Hudson.

§ Indians in New England.

¶ Voyages, i. 196.

the mountains of the lakes. He says, "When I saw them preparing to shoot at us, I raised my arquebus, and, aiming directly at one of the three chiefs, two of them fell to the ground by this shot, and one of their companions received a wound of which he died afterwards." The Iroquois soon fled from the field, astonished at weapons which made so loud a noise and produced effects so fatal.*

One of the consequences of Champlain's expedition against the Iroquois was to make them, forever after, the violent enemies of the French. This was especially true of the Mohawks and Oneidas, whose warriors bore the brunt of the battle on the lake. The Iroquois soon learned the use of gunpowder and muskets from the Dutch colonists at Albany, and became expert marksmen. It is possible that a conciliatory policy on the part of Champlain, such as was attempted by his successors, might have won over the Iroquois to the French interests.

The name of CHAMPLAIN is inseparably connected with the early discoveries and colonization of Canada. As the founder of Quebec,† and the leading spirit of the country for a quarter of a century, he deserves a grateful remembrance. He died on Christmas day, 1635, and his body was buried at Quebec, in the humble chapel of the Récollets, which has since been succeeded by the cathedral. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, and a great patron of the Jesuit missionaries. He often said that "the salvation of one soul was of more value than the conquest of an empire."

NOTE III.—Page 7.

ISAAC JOGUES.

ISAAC JOGUES was the first Jesuit missionary among the Iroquois. He was born in 1607, ordained priest in 1636, and arrived at Quebec on July 2d of the same year, 1636. He immediately proceeded to the country of the Hurons, among whom he laboured near Green Bay for five years. In 1641, Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues were detached to establish a mission among the Chippewas at the Falls of St. Mary, which was the first mission on the western soil of the present United States.‡ The missionaries found there an assemblage of two thousand persons who had never seen a European or heard a word of the true God. Father Jogues, on his return to the Hurons, was summoned to Quebec, where he remained a few weeks, and then set out again for the Hurons. His party, when about fifty miles from Quebec, were taken prisoners by the Iroquois, who were laying in wait for them, and they were carried to the Mohawk settlements. Three of the Hurons were burned to death; the life of Father Jogues was spared, but he remained prisoner for a year, and his hands were mutilated by the devices of Indian torture. In 1643 he embarked for Europe, and soon returned to Canada, having obtained from the pope permission to celebrate the mass with his mutilated hands, in consideration of the martyrdom he had well nigh suffered.

In 1645 a treaty of peace was made at Three Rivers between the Iroquois and Hurons. During the succeeding winter the French witnessed these tribes mingling together in the chase—what had not been witnessed before since the colonization of Canada. Father Jogues was commissioned, in the following spring, to visit the Mohawk country, with pre-

* A translation of Champlain's first expedition against the Iroquois in 1609, and of a subsequent expedition against the Onondagas and Senecas in 1615 by the way of Lake Ontario, is found in Doc. Hist. of N. Y., iii. 3-24, with Champlain's map and references. On the map is a locality, near Lake George, which he names Saint Onge.

† So named after one of the ancient seigneuries of Normandy, from which part of France, and from Brittany, most of the early settlers and leading men came.—*Havokins' Picture of Quebec*.

‡ Histoire de Canada, de son Église, et de ses Missions. Par M. L'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, i. 54.

sents in token of the ratification of the treaty. It was while on this journey that he reached Lake *Andiatarocte* on the eve of the Holy Sacrament or *Corpus Christi*, and hence gave it the name of "*St. Sacrement*," which it retained for more than a century. Father Jogues reached Fort Orange on June 4th, and passed on to the Mohawks, where he was hospitably received. He remained among the Iroquois about a fortnight, and reached Quebec on the 29th of June.

The report he made to his superiors induced them to select him to establish a mission among the Iroquois, he alone understanding their dialect. "*Ibo et non redibo*" were his prophetic words; "I shall go and shall not return." Setting out from Quebec on the 27th of September, he again passed through the lakes, and reached the Mohawk village, supposed to be Caughnawaga, on the 17th of October. On the following evening, as he was entering a cabin, where he had been invited to sup, an Iroquois struck him a heavy blow on the head with a hatchet, which instantly killed him. His companion suffered the same fate. Their heads were cut off and exposed on the palisades of the village, and their bodies were thrown into the Mohawk. After the lapse of a few years the Iroquois themselves admired and venerated the murdered missionary for his virtues and fortitude.*

As before remarked, *Champlain*, and not Father Jogues, was the first European that saw Lake George. It is not certain, however, that Champlain ever traversed it. Father Jogues may have passed over the lake the first time in 1642, when he was carried captive by the Iroquois into the Mohawk country.

NOTE IV.—Page 7.

ROUTES BETWEEN THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY AND CANADA.

The French expeditions from Canada into the country of the Iroquois generally passed through Lake Ontario; but in attacking the Mohawks, or easterly tribe, Lake Champlain was used. The route from Fort Orange to Canada was to the "carrying-place" [Fort Edward] on the Hudson, and thence by Wood Creek, or by Lake George, into Lake Champlain. The most common route from the Mohawk country was probably through Lake George. Champlain, indeed, expressly states:—"The Indians told me it was there [to the south] that we were to go to meet their enemies, * * * and that we must pass by *a waterfall*, * * * and thence enter *another lake* three or four leagues long." Champlain, on his map published in 1632, marks Lake George 66, with this reference:—"Little lake by which we go to Iroquois after passing that of Champlain." The Iroquois probably took the route through Lake George as being the nearest and most convenient, and for military purposes the most obscure. In the treaty between the Iroquois and the French, made at Quebec in 1666, it is stipulated:—"Also that trade and commerce be open to them [the Iroquois] with New France, by the Lake *du Saint Sacrement*, with the assurance on their part that they will provide in their country a sure retreat to the trading merchants, not only by preparing cabins to lodge them in, but also by assisting to erect forts to shelter them from their common enemies."† Lt.-Governor Colden, in his *Observations*, &c. on the Province of New York, printed in 1738, speaking of the routes between Canada and the Hudson, says, "From the eastern branch there is only land-carriage of sixteen miles to the Wood Creek, or to the Lake St. Sacrement."‡ So that even from Fort Orange the route by Lake George was sometimes taken.

* Histoire de Canada, i. 59. "Le premier parmi les Jésuites de Canada, il avait donné son sang pour la cause de la religion." Ibid. 60.

† Doc. Hist. of N. Y., i. 76.

‡ Ibid. iv. 173.

NOTE V.—Page 8.

ON THE RIVAL CLAIMS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE TO THEIR POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA—ORIGIN OF THE OLD FRENCH WAR.

The subject of this note might easily be expanded into a long discourse. A few hints, however, are all that can be attempted in illustration of the origin of the old French war. We must go back to "the beginning."

The English claim was founded upon the voyages of the Cabots, who first discovered the continent in 1497, and in that and the following year explored its coast from Labrador to Albemarle Sound. The patent of Sir Walter Raleigh, giving jurisdiction over extensive regions in Virginia and Carolina, dates from 1584; and the first colonial charter, dated in 1606, grants to certain parties the soil from Cape Fear on the south to Halifax on the north, or from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude. Charters were subsequently granted in New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, &c. These charters generally gave jurisdiction indefinitely to the West, even to the "South Sea."

The French claim was founded upon the voyages of Verazzani, Cartier, Champlain, &c.; and, as regards the West, France maintained the right of discovery and possession of the Mississippi Valley through her traders and military expeditions, the great La Salle having passed down, in 1682, to the outlet of the "Father of Waters."

Thus situated as to original jurisdiction, neither party acknowledged the claims of the other, and the questions of boundary remained unsettled until the end of the Old French War. The sword of victory then cut the knot. The French, in support of their claim, pointed to an article in the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, between England and France. By that treaty all lands on any rivers in America, the mouths or outlets whereof were in possession of either nation, were conceded to that nation as high as the first sources of those rivers. The French maintained that this article gave them a right to the lands north and west of the British colonies, from Canada along the lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi; but a concession so extensive was never intended. Sir Wm. Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, observed, in his report made in 1718 to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, that such an interpretation was inconsistent with the ancient grants from the crown and with the very existence of the colonies. France, however, persevered in establishing a line of forts from Montreal through the Mississippi Valley to Canada. She had forts at Frontenac, Niagara, Erie, Venango, at the junction of Monongahela and Alleghany, Detroit, Kaskaskia, mouth of Wabash, Black Islands on the Ohio, and four between these islands and New Orleans, besides Fort Presentation on the St. Lawrence, Fort St. Frederick at Crown Point, and forts at other points in the Northwest and on the northern borders of New England and of Nova Scotia, or Acadia.

Several of these forts were built in express violation of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. The 15th article of that treaty declared that "the subjects of France, inhabitants of Canada and elsewhere, shall not disturb or molest, in any manner whatever, the *Five Indian Nations which are subject to Great Britain*, nor its other American allies."* This article acknowledges the protectorate of Great Britain over the Iroquois; and the latter had, indeed, by solemn treaties, in 1683, and again at Albany in 1701, and subsequently in 1726, declared their dependence upon Great Britain, and the latter agreed to protect the Iroquois in all their rights to the soil. Notwithstanding this article of the treaty, France seized upon Niagara and established a fort there in 1726, and erected another at Crown Point in 1731, and another, called Fort Presentation, on the St. Lawrence in 1746.

* The words of the treaty are explicit:—"Quinque Nationes sive Cantones Indorum Magnæ Britannici Imperii Subjectas."—Art. XV. *Treaty of Utrecht*.

The treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* was framed in 1748. The most renowned diplomatists of Europe engaged in it, but settled nothing. England, having been worsted in several campaigns, was anxious to obtain peace. The public sentiment of the nation, however, was opposed to the indefinite and humiliating treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The boundaries were all left undetermined, and the causes of contention between the two nations continued, so that war was again declared in 1756. In the mean time, however, aggressive measures were planned and executed by both nations, and the several campaigns of 1755 took place during a state of *nominal peace*.

NOTE VI.—Page 9.

THE ALBANY CONVENTION—CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS—THE PLAN OF UNION—
REPRESENTATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

A convention of delegates from the colonies, summoned by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and the Plantations, met at Albany, N. Y., on June 24th, 1754.

I. CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS.—The chief object of the convention was to confer with the Iroquois Indians, and to conciliate their friendship and co-operation. In the approaching crisis, the colonies had need of their ancient allies. The French, with their accustomed address and perseverance, had caused several of the tribes to falter in their loyalty to the provincial cause, and a lukewarmness existed among the Indians in general, which threatened serious results. The principal ground of discontent was the indifference of the English to Indian interests. In proof of the general apathy of the Indians, a comparatively small number of the sachems attended the conference. All the tribes of the confederacy, however, were represented, and among the Mohawk sachems was HENDRICK, himself a host.

The speeches on the part of the Indians, especially those made by Hendrick, were fearless and eloquent. After several days' conferences, the Indians went home, apparently in good spirits and with revived friendship. The covenant-chain was renewed, and the Iroquois were conciliated as allies to the colonies in the approaching contest. Hendrick took leave of the commissioners, saying, "We beg we may all take care of the tree of friendship, and preserve it, by our mutual attention, from any injuries: we will take care of it on our side, and we hope our brethren will do so on theirs. We wish this tree of friendship may grow up to great height."

II. THE PLAN OF UNION.—Another important object of the Albany convention was to concert measures for the public welfare. The most remarkable of these measures was the PLAN OF UNION, proposed to the colonies for their adoption. *Franklin* was the prime mover of the scheme. He was on the committee appointed to digest it, and made the final draught submitted to the colonies. There was no difference of opinion in the convention on the importance and necessity of a union of the colonies in the existing emergency. Various debates, however, occurred on the specific plans to form the basis of a union. The subject was before the convention at *twelve different sessions*, and received long and animated discussions.

The general outlines of the Plan of Union, as finally adopted, were,—1. A President-General, to be appointed and supported by the Crown. 2. A Grand Council, or Congress, to be elected every three years by the Provincial Assemblies, of which no Colony should have more than *seven* or less than *two*; the Grand Council to meet once every year, or oftener. 3. The assent of the President-General to be necessary to all Acts of the Grand Council, and it is his duty to execute the laws. 4. The Grand Council to have power to make treaties with the Indians, to purchase lands from them that are not within the

bounds of particular Colonies, to raise and pay soldiers, build forts for the defence of any of the Colonies, and equip vessels to guard the coast and protect the trade on the ocean; and for these purposes shall have power to lay and levy general duties, imposts, or taxes, as shall appear most equal and just. 5. *Military* officers to be nominated by President-General and approved by Grand Council, and *civil* officers to be nominated by Grand Council and approved by President-General.

This plan of union did not ultimately receive the approbation of either the crown or the colonies; the former dreading a general political organization as involving too much independence, and the latter apprehending danger to the rights of individual colonies, or difficulties from the great power of the president-general as an officer of the crown.

III. *A Representation of the Affairs of the Colonies* was also ordered by the Albany Convention, which is a paper of great interest. It was drawn up by the same committee that prepared the Plan of Union,—probably by Franklin himself. It embodies Franklin's idea of states beyond the Alleghanies in the following paragraph:—"That the bounds of those colonies which extend to the South Sea [the Pacific] be contracted and limited by the Alleghany or Appalachian Mountains; and that measures be taken for settling, from time to time, colonies of his Majesty's Protestant subjects westward of said mountains, in convenient cantons, to be assigned for that purpose."

Thus the convention at Albany, in 1754, promulgated the two great ideas of American policy—a UNITED GOVERNMENT and EXPANDING STATES.

NOTE VII.—Page 10.

THE BRITISH PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1755.

The plan of the campaign of 1755, arranged by the Council at Alexandria, was undoubtedly a wise one in the general. The writer of the "*Review of the Military Operations in North America from 1753 to 1756*" finds fault with the British government for making Braddock's expedition to the Monongahela the most prominent of the three. He also objects to the policy of sending against Crown Point an expedition composed entirely of the *provincial militia*. The greatest number of regular troops from France were stationed in that direction; and it was well known that Dieskau had recently arrived with reinforcements. The intelligent reader may form his own opinion of the correctness of the reviewer's criticism.

Another point, more obnoxious to criticism, was the route Braddock was directed to take by the orders he received in England,—viz.: from *Alexandria to Will's Creek*. Even some of the English writers maintain that Braddock ought to have started on his expedition from Philadelphia, because this route was the nearest, the best, and more accessible for supplying his army with provisions. There is some truth in these criticisms. Virginia was unable to perform the contracts to supply the army either with provisions or horses and wagons; and, after much delay, Braddock was obliged to look to Pennsylvania for assistance. Franklin and Morris were effectual friends in time of need. The writer in the "*Review*," already referred to, says that it was owing to "misrepresentations from Virginia" that Braddock's troops were embarked for the Potomac. The author of "*The History of the Late War*," [John Rolt,] published in London in 1766, states, "It is said that these forces were sent to Virginia instead of Pennsylvania, to their insuperable disadvantage, merely to answer the lucrative views of a friend to the ministry, to whose share the remittances would then fall of 2½ per cent. profit.* What truth there is, if any,

* Rolt's History, v. 204.

in these representations, cannot now be ascertained. Nor is it necessary to impeach an error by adding a crime to the indictment. Mistakes frequently occur in war, as in civil affairs. It was quite natural for the authorities in Great Britain, who directed the campaign, to suppose that the route taken by Washington in 1753 was a good one. Moreover, it was thought that a southern route would enable the expedition to start earlier. It must be confessed, however, that Braddock's expedition was badly managed in its details from beginning to end; but for these details the council assembled at Alexandria was not responsible. The plan of operations adopted by that council was as well arranged and comprehensive as could be expected, although the execution came so far short of the general expectation.

The idea of conquering Canada was not as yet developed. The campaign of 1755 was a defensive one. Its object was simply to repel the encroachments of the French.

NOTE VIII.—Page 12.

THE NAME OF LAKE GEORGE.

This beautiful sheet of water has had several names; and a proposal has been lately made to adopt still another one.

1. The old *Iroquois* name is said by some to be *ANDIATAROCTE*, or "there the lake shuts itself."* This name may, perhaps, refer to the *end* of the lake rather than to the whole lake. The French may bear this interpretation, and the translation of the Indian name seems to require it. Others affirm that the proper Indian name is *CANAIDERI-OIT*, or "the tail of the lake," the smaller lake being a sort of appendage to the larger. Neither of these names gained much currency among the English, Dutch, or French.

2. The *French* name of the lake was *SAINT SACREMENT*, given by Father Jogues in commemoration of the day on which he arrived at its northern extremity, which was on the eve of the festival of the Holy Sacrament, or Body of Christ.† Mr. Cooper, in his famous novel, "The Last of the Mohicans," states that the name St. Sacrament was given to the lake on account of the purity of its waters. His language is:—"Its waters were so limpid as to have been exclusively selected by the Jesuit missionaries to perform typical purification of baptism, and to obtain for it the title of lake '*du Saint Sacrement*.'" No wonder that, with this artificial and complicated derivation, the novelist, in his preface, thinks the French name "too complicated." Its origin, however, was misconceived. The Roman Catholics frequently connect the discovery of places with the festival names on the calendar. Thus, the Gulf of St. Lawrence was so called by Cartier, who discovered it on St. Lawrence's day, the 10th of August, 1535; Lake St. Clair was named by La Salle, who discovered it on St. Clair's day, the 12th of August, 1679. Thus, also, one of the old French forts, erected on the river Richelieu in 1664, was called St. Louis, because it was commenced the week of the celebration of the festival of St. Louis; and Fort St. Frederick, erected at Crown Point in 1731, has an historical connection with that festival-day on the calendar. The far-fetched conjecture of Mr. Cooper has been too trustfully followed by other writers. The name of the lake has no typical reference

* "Ils arrivèrent, la veille du S. Sacrement, au bout du lac qui est joint au grand lac de Champlain. Les Iroquois le nomment Andiatarocete, comme qui disoit là ou le lac se ferme. Le Père le nomma le Lac du S. Sacrement."—*Relations*, 1645-46.

† *Corpus Christi* is one of the high festivals of the Church of Rome, and occurs on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. Its design is to commemorate the corporeal presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. In the year 1646, this festival occurred on the 28th of May. The current English translation of the French name is not accurate. It ought to be "the Lake of the *Holy Sacrament*."

whatever to baptism, but an historical one to the "Blessed Sacrament of the Body of Christ."

3. The *English* name is LAKE GEORGE, given by General Johnson on his arrival, with the American forces, at its southern extremity. "The French call it Lake St. Sacrament; but I have given it the name of Lake George," says the old veteran, "not only in honour to his Majesty, but to *ascertain his undoubted dominion here.*" Before attempting a vindication of this name and the propriety of retaining it, let us notice the new appellation that has been proposed.

4. The name of "HORICAN" has been proposed by Mr. Cooper, the distinguished novelist, from a tribe of Indians who formerly lived somewhere in the neighbourhood. The following is Cooper's account, in his Preface of 1851 to the *Mohicans*:—"While writing this book, fully a quarter of a century since, it occurred to us that the French name of this lake was too complicated, the American too commonplace, and the Indian too unpronounceable, for either to be *used familiarly in a work of fiction.* Looking over an ancient map, it was ascertained that a tribe of Indians, called 'Les Horicans' by the French, existed in the *neighbourhood* of this beautiful sheet of water. As every word uttered by Natty Bumppo was *not to be received as rigid truth*, we took the liberty of putting the 'Horican' into his mouth as the substitute for 'Lake George.' The name has appeared to find favour, and, all things considered, it may possibly be quite as well to let it stand, instead of going back to the 'House of Hanover' for the appellation of our finest sheet of water."

I venture to make a few remarks in opposition to this suggestion. Let it be noted, in the first place, that the name "Horican," as applied to the lake, is fanciful, and not historical. Mr. Cooper, wishing to get some Indian name for his novel, hit upon that of a tribe who used to live somewhere to the east, on the head-waters of the Connecticut River. The proneness of fiction to sustain fiction is seen in the fact that some writers already interpret "Horican" as meaning "pure waters." Mr. Cooper does not attempt to sustain his fanciful nomenclature by such an argument, but openly acknowledges that he borrowed it from a tribe of Indians of that name. Much less is there any evidence that the Indians ever called the lake by the name of Horican. Mr. Cooper did not so understand it. And yet it is getting to be a common saying that "the *old Indian name* of the lake was Horican, and it was so called on account of the *pureness* of its waters!" Mr. Cooper, the original author of the proposed change, confesses the name to be a fiction of his own, introduced to serve the purposes of his novel.

The old name of "Lake George" has now become a very proper one, on account of its historical associations. It was not given simply in honour of his Majesty, but "to *ascertain his undoubted dominion here.*" The French had claimed the right to the lake, and were already erecting a fortification at its other extremity. General Johnson, in defiance of this claim, gave to the lake the title of the king, whom the colonies then owned as their lawful sovereign, and in whose name they had sent a military expedition to resist the French. It was a loyal and a spirited act on the part of the American commander thus to associate King George's name with the lake. And it is due to the *victory* achieved in 1755 to retain the royal name. For more than half a century, Lake George was known only through this celebrated victory; and the fame of the lake will ever be associated with the memorable action on its shores. That battle will always be known as "*the battle of Lake George*;" and a novelist might almost as well attempt to Indianize Bunker's Hill as change the old name of the lake, immortalized on the pages of history.

The idea that, as we have renounced subjection to kings, the names belonging to the House of Hanover are inappropriate, is absurd. Shall we change the names of Albany and New York, because they remind us of princes of the royal blood? Such names, instead of being a dishonour, may serve to remind us of the success of our struggle for independence. They are, at least, honest and truthful memorials of the olden time. There may indeed be cases whose peculiar circumstances would justify a new nomenclature;

but the present case is not one of these. Politically, the colonies prospered under George II., especially during the administration of William Pitt; under which this lake was the scene of memorable events, resulting finally in the conquest of Canada. There is, therefore, a peculiar historical fitness in retaining the old name.

Besides these reasons, changes of this nature introduce confusion into popular phraseology, and their general adoption is very doubtful, especially when historical associations and the common sentiment of the masses are against them. Even if some well-sounding Indian name, descriptive of the lake and applied to it by the Indians themselves, could be found, it would scarcely be wise, under present circumstances, to make the innovation. But to take up with Natty Bumppo's name of "*Horian*," which does not claim to be "rigid truth," but is mere fancy, is asking more than the ycomany of Warren county will be likely to grant. Let the good old familiar name of "Lake George," famous in historical annals, be retained.

NOTE IX.—Page 18.

MILITARY TACTICS OF THE TWO COMMANDERS.

The battle of Lake George invites some remarks on the military tactics of the two commanders.

The BARON DE DIESKAU, bold as a lion, marches into the enemy's country and seeks to terminate the campaign by a series of active aggressions. Two questions arise respecting his tactics; first, was it wise to advance with so small a detachment into foreign territory, and upon the centre of the operations of a superior force? and, second, was it wise to direct his march against the main army at the lake rather than against the smaller force at Fort Edward? The wisdom of entering the enemy's territory, under the circumstances in which Baron Dieskau engaged in the enterprise, is somewhat doubtful. He sallied forth in advance of two commanding positions. He held Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the latter well fortified, with a considerable body of troops at each place, and from neither of which it is at all likely that Johnson could have dislodged him. If he could have surprised the American army on its march to the lake through the forests, he might have been successful. But Johnson had reached the lake eleven days before, and had selected a strong position for his camp, which it was natural to suppose would be fortified. On the other hand, Dieskau did not set out from Crown Point until he had received intelligence that the American army had encamped on the lake, leaving the "carrying-place" unfortified, with a small number of troops only for its defence. "Boldness wins;" and why may not Fort Edward be taken? Dieskau reaches South Bay without being discovered, hurries on to Fort Edward, and, when within a few miles of it, is constrained to turn aside. The expedition *proved a failure in the outset*. But it embraced other objects, and these were much more difficult to accomplish. Dieskau intended, after taking the fort, to advance upon the camp, or else to push on to Albany without delay, devastate it, and then cut off Shirley's supplies, or perhaps pursue him up the Mohawk to Oswego, where he had gone on his way to capture Niagara. A wide field of adventure would open before him, presenting various alternatives, the first of which, doubtless, was to attack the Americans at Lake George. Was his little army strong enough for all these risks? Did not his plans, on the whole, partake of rashness, as well as boldness? Like Braddock, he was probably ensnared by too great contempt of his enemy. If Dieskau had remained at Crown Point or Ticonderoga, Johnson would, in all probability, have been deterred from advancing, or, if he had advanced, would have been beaten. In that case, all three of the American expeditions of 1755 would have been failures, without the prestige of a single victory.

Having resolved to attack the American forces, was it wise in Dieskau to proceed against the camp rather than against the carrying-place? The actual proceeding was against the camp, although the intention had been in the other direction. Circumstances occurred to require a reconsideration of his plans. The alternative, at last, was to march for the camp or to go back to his boats. His troops refused to attack the fort. The Indians were disheartened at the idea of encountering artillery. Having unexpectedly heard that the big guns were at the fort, they could not be induced to proceed against it, but declared their alacrity to surprise the camp, which was reported to be as yet unfortified. *Situated as he was, and with the information he possessed, it will probably be acknowledged that the course Dieskau adopted was the one a military character would be likely to pursue.* He marches for the lake. His new plan requires a quick movement and skilful execution. Success beams upon his banner. He puts to flight the American detachment of the morning. From Gage's Hill he catches a view of the camp, and urges on his men to its attack. But he suddenly halts. He is put to the severest test of military genius. He is in a dilemma at a crisis. His Indians and Canadians see cannon, and skulk. If they had stood by the regulars and joined in an immediate assault on the camp, it might have been carried. But the fortunes of war were now against Dieskau. His ignorance of the enemy's equipments and resources is fatal; and the day is lost. General Lyman had arrived with the heavy artillery only five days before; and, as it turned out, the cannon were at the camp and not at the fort. General Johnson, in writing a few days after, says, in reference to the refusal of the Indians to attack the carrying-place:—"Very happy for us; for he would have found our troops there separately encamped out of the works, and *no cannon there*, and his victory would probably have been a very cheap one, and made way for another here."* Dieskau accomplished quite as much as a careful calculation of probabilities would have wrought out for an expedition so difficult and dangerous. Having determined upon it, his movements in the exigencies which compassed him may have been the best within his power. But far better for him and his cause if he had remained at his own fortified post at Crown Point, or at Ticonderoga, instead of going abroad with so small a number of regular troops in search of adventures of war. If boldness is a virtue, prudence is a grace. Dieskau, in setting out against Fort Edward, ought to have taken with him at least enough regulars to capture the unfinished works there weakly garrisoned, and whether with cannon or without cannon. His plans were better than his means of execution. Losing Fort Edward, he lost all. On the whole, then, Dieskau's expedition, so far as it was undertaken against Fort Edward in its unfinished state and weak garrison, may stand the test of a critical examination; but, beyond this, the vindication of his expedition has serious difficulties, and perhaps the wisest course, and the one which a more cautious general would have adopted, was to strengthen and defend the posts on Lake Champlain.

GENERAL JOHNSON, by his own confession, left his rear unprotected. Fort Edward was not only the base of his operations, but was the door of entrance into the province of New York from Canada; and the capture of that position would both have cut off his own supplies and have given the enemy access to all the northern settlements down to Albany. To leave such a position in his rear without cannon, with unfinished intrenchments, with a weak garrison "encamping out of the works," and offering to an active enemy what he himself calls "a cheap victory," and one likely to "make way for another" at the camp, is the commencement, to say the least, of an unpromising campaign. Waiving, however, further criticism on this part of General Johnson's tactics, it is clear that, as a military man, he was more timid and less enterprising than Dieskau. Emergencies did not rouse his nature. Twice informed by scouts—first in the evening and then at midnight—that the enemy were advancing from Lake Champlain, he did not call a council of war until the next

morning. His first information was that the French were on the road towards Fort Edward, and would attack it "either to-day or this night;" his last information that they were four miles "this side of the carrying-place," or about one mile from the present village of Glenn's Falls, and only ten or eleven miles from the camp. In either event, the sending out of the morning detachment was a good military measure. On the supposition that the enemy were coming towards the camp, a *reconnaissance en force* would supply information, impede the progress of the enemy, and possibly drive him back in the fortunes of war. But this was not the object of the American detachment. The general impression, notwithstanding the last report of the scouts at midnight, was that the French designed to attack Fort Edward. Hence, the despatch of a considerable force was advisable, according to the official account, "in order to catch the enemy in their retreat from the other camp, either as victors or defeated in their design." General Johnson's measure, therefore, of sending out the detachment of the morning, was a military necessity; and, however incautiously the movement was conducted, the idea itself was a good one.

Other parts of General Johnson's policy cannot be so well vindicated. The reasons given in his despatches for his inactivity were not received with favour by the public. All his officers advised him to pursue the enemy, who might easily have been overtaken before reaching their boats on Lake Champlain, and who, if pursued, would have been caught between two fires; for the detachment of McGinnis was close at hand. The author of the "*Review of Military Operations*" is quite severe on this part of Johnson's conduct, and quotes passages from his official reports in proof of his unreasonable apprehensions about a renewal of the attack.

But General Johnson is chiefly open to censure in not rallying all the energies and resources of his army in pressing on to Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Although he lost the opportunity, by not pursuing his enemies, of sailing down the lake in their own bateaux, he might have hastened in season the arrangements for his own boats, [of which one hundred and twenty,* or a fifth of the required number, were already transported,] if the great idea of the expedition had been deeply and enthusiastically fixed in his mind. But it was not. The work of building a large fort seems to have supplanted the zeal of military aggression. Even in his official report of the battle, written the day after, he says:—"The reinforcements will be with us in a few days. When these *fresh troops* arrive, I shall immediately—*set about building a fort!*" But the provincial troops had not left their homes and farms to build forts. They brought their muskets and not spades, artillery-wagons and not wheelbarrows. The result of Johnson's fort-building mania was not only to thwart the design of his expedition, but to create disaffection among his officers and troops, whose spirit was "bent up to its full height," and who wanted to march against the enemy. A strong consideration in extenuation of General Johnson's inactivity was the wound he had received in the battle, and which disabled him from self-denying physical service. But the objects of the campaign would have been furthered if he had resigned the command to General Lyman, rather than discourage the colonies and their troops by an unmilitary and unproductive delay. The fort might have been built at any other time; but *then* was the opportunity to capture Crown Point, or at least to gain possession of Ticonderoga. Nothing but the glory of the victory he had gained screened General Johnson from a serious examination into his conduct.

The American officers and men behaved gallantly at the camp. Dieskau remarked to General Johnson, "In the morning your troops fought like brave boys, at noon like men, but in the afternoon like devils." The last comparison probably means, in military language, like *heroes*. The provincial soldiers from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and New York, contended for their lives, their homes, and their country. Their muskets did more service than the cannon. The "*Review of Military Operations*" states

* Colonial Documents, vi. 1014.

that "the cannon was so ill-served and so highly elevated, that they did, beyond all controversy, no execution at all,—none of the dead being observed to have been killed by cannon-shot; but amongst the tops of the trees, thirty and forty feet high, they made great and useless havoc."* This accounts for the fact that Dieskau's men were able to stand their ground for so long a time. The few pieces of cannon brought into play were chiefly valuable in frightening the Indians and irregulars, and perhaps in doing some execution among them in the distance. General Johnson himself had a good opinion of his artillery officer, whose skill he highly commends in his official report; and a gunner, "who acts under Captain Eyres," writes, in a letter from the camp, that "our artillery made lanes, streets, and alleys, through their army!"† The truth probably lies somewhere between these violent extremes. No doubt the artillerymen behaved bravely, "hit or miss," and united with the infantry in sustaining the character of the army.

On the whole, both the French and American armies maintained their reputation at the battle of Lake George. The tactics of the two commanders, though open to exceptions, were probably equal to the average generalship of good officers in times of emergency and in positions remote from support. Dieskau wore the laurels of the morning, and Johnson those of the evening. Both commanders sleep in soldiers' graves. In all criticisms upon their tactics and management, they should receive the respect due to patriotic, well-meaning, and brave men, who did good service in the cause of their respective countries.

NOTE X.—Page 19.

BARON DE DIESKAU.

BARON DE DIESKAU was of Saxon extraction. He had served in the campaigns of France in the preceding war under Marshal Saxe, and was present at the celebrated battle of Fontenoy, in 1745. Colonel Babcock, who was captain of a company engaged in the "bloody morning scout," writing nearly twenty years after, says:—"The very enterprising general the baron was a great favourite of the celebrated Marshal Saxe, and by him strongly recommended to the French king as one of the best officers of his rank in all his Most Christian Majesty's forces. He was colonel of a regiment of infantry, and, at the time of Marshal Saxe's death, lieutenant-colonel of Saxe's regiment of horse."‡ The baron sailed from France, in the spring of 1755, with Monsieur de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, in a fleet which was conveying three thousand regular soldiers destined for Canada and Nova Scotia. Of these, eight companies were captured in the *Lys* and *Alcide* by British men-of-war, and eight hundred men were landed at Louisburg. The baron and governor-general had a narrow escape, a fog alone preventing the capture of the whole fleet.

In his resolute but unsuccessful expedition into Northern New York, Dieskau acted upon his maxim, "Boldness wins." It finally won for him death. His bravery met with a sad end. It is reported that, when he found the Canadians and Indians unwilling or afraid to support his attack upon the camp, he could not repress his indignation, and broke out against their conduct with mournful invective. The baron was wounded in the leg during

* *Review of the Military Operations from 1753 to 1756*, p. 68, note. This review, which is in the form of "a letter addressed to a nobleman in London," 1757, is supposed to have been written either jointly by Governor Livingston, Chief-Justice Wm. Smith, and John Morrin Scott, Esq., or by one of the three,—probably Wm. Smith,—in consultation with the others. It made a great sensation in its day. It is strongly partisan in its character, and is severe upon Lieutenant-Governor Delancey and General Johnson. Its statements, however, deserve a careful consideration. No one replied to it.

† Colonial Documents, vi. 1005.

‡ Doc. Hist. of N. Y., iv. 488.

the engagement, and was unable to retreat. He was discovered by a soldier, reclining against the stump of a tree. While in the act of putting his hand into his pocket to offer to the soldier his watch as a reward to treat him kindly and spare his life, the provincial, mistaking the motion for a search after a pistol, fired his musket, and severely wounded him in both hips. At this moment Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy came up, and every attention was paid to the unfortunate general. Some of the Mohawks, exasperated at the death of Hendrick and of so many of their companions, gathered around him with fierce clamours and demanded his death. But a guard was placed around him, and he was carried on a blanket, with great care, by some soldiers, to General Johnson's tent, where he arrived at six o'clock in the evening.

Johnson says, in his report, "Monsieur le Baron de Dieskau, the French general, is badly wounded in the leg and through both his hips, and the surgeon very much fears his life. He is an elderly gentleman, an experienced officer, and a man of high consideration in France." General Johnson treated the baron with the kindest attentions. On the 16th of September he sent him to Albany on a litter as far as the carrying-place, and thence on the Hudson in a bateau. General Johnson also lent him fifty guineas, or ninety pounds New York currency. From Albany the baron was sent to New York. On the 27th of November *Dr. Shuckborough* writes from New York to General Johnson:—"The Baron Dieskau, your prisoner, it is yet doubtful whether he will recover. Dr. Magraw does not continue to visit him. I wish it were in my power to help him also. I am glad you catch'd him; he of himself is a good prize. We take him to be a most consummate general. It is said he was executor and legatee of Marshal Saxe, and a great favourite of his. He is a man of some estate, besides his command in the two regiments in the King of France's service."* The baron never recovered from his wounds. He was sent to England, where he lingered more than a year, and died, I think, in 1757.

Marshal Saxe, whose name occurs several times in connection with Baron Dieskau's, was the famous French general who gained the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, and conducted the several campaigns which ended in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. As a reward for his triumph at Fontenoy, Louis XV. gave him the palace of Chambord, in his own right, and a large sum of money.† His private morals partook of the character of the age; and he died, saying to his physician, Sénec, "Here is the end of a fine dream!" Saxe was a Lutheran. On hearing of his death, Maria Leczinska, the Queen of France, who was a zealous Roman Catholic, uttered a somewhat memorable sentence. "It is very sad," she exclaimed, "that we cannot say a single *De Profundis* for this general, who has made us sing *Te Deum* so many times." Rochambeau, who records the anecdote,‡ adds that a grenadier made for the marshal, in 1757, a much more energetic funeral oration. In passing by Strasburg, he drew his sword, sharpened it on Saxe's tombstone, and marched proudly away, persuaded that, like him, he would triumph over every foe. Marshal Saxe died shortly before the war; and his friend and companion, the brave old Dieskau, did not long survive him.

NOTE XI.—Page 19.

LE GARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE.

The family of LE GARDEUR, of Normandy, settled in Canada about the year 1630. Among a list of *Familles Nobles* in Canada, 1736, the first family is Le Gardeur, the branches of which are Repentigny, Courselle, Tilly de Beauvais, and *St. Pierre*; and

* Johnson's unpublished manuscripts.

† Louis XV., &c., par *Capefigue*, 205.

‡ *Mémoires Militaires*, i. 66.

hence the family name of Le Gardien de St. Pierre. The family was one of the ancient Canadian families of distinction, and its members have taken a prominent part in all the wars of France, and have been in its expeditions from Louisiana to Acadia and Newfoundland.* The first notice I find in our Colonial history of Le Gardeur de St. Pierre is from the pen of GEORGE WASHINGTON, who met him at Fort Le Bœuf in 1753, then commander of the French posts in Western Pennsylvania. In his letter to Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, of which Washington was the bearer, he says:—"As to the summons you sent me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general, [the Marquis du Quesne, Governor-General of Canada;] and I entreat you, sir, not to doubt one moment but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer." Washington, in his Journal, states, "This commander is a knight of the military order of St. Louis,† and named Le Gardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman, and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me. * * * He told me that the country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters; and that he had orders to make every person prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the waters of it." The designs of the French, as indicated by Washington's visit to Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, led to Washington's expedition to the great Meadows and Fort Necessity in 1754, and to Braddock's expedition in 1755. As Braddock was defeated on the 9th of July, Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, who probably retained his command of the forts of that region and assisted in managing the campaign, had time to repair to Montreal, and was, perhaps, summoned there to consult with Dieskau. At any rate, there he is found at the head of a large body of Indians and Canadians. The Indians alone mustered from 800 to 1000, which was the largest body collected together during the war. St. Pierre was the most useful Canadian officer in the French army, and was especially influential among the Indians, with whom he was skilful in making treaties. His personal presence, as described by Washington, was winning and imposing. He is said to have lost the sight of one of his eyes, being called by a writer "the famous one-eyed warrior."‡ A gunner, writing from the camp on 10th September, 1755, says, "Their Major-General was killed; he was the same who commanded at Ohio; his last words were, 'Fight on, boys; this is Johnson, not Braddock.'"§ He ended this life on Sept. 8th, 1755, near the spot where Colonel Williams fell in the morning.

NOTE XII.—Page 20.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON was born in Ireland in 1714. He was the nephew of Sir Peter Warren, the admiral who distinguished himself at Louisburg in 1745, and who married the sister of James Delancey, Lieutenant-Governor of New York. Sir Peter Warren secured

* I am indebted for the above information to E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M.D., of Albany, the author of the *History of New Netherland*, and superintendent of the publication of the *Documentary History of New York*, 4 vols., and its *Colonial Documents*, 9 vols. He searched several works in culling this information—an illustration of the difficulty of procuring minute historical details. Dr. O'Callaghan's sickness prevented further research.

† This is the third order in France, and was instituted by Louis XIV. in 1693, being designed purely for the encouragement of the generals and officers of the army.—*Roll's History*, v. 100.

‡ Joseph White, Esq., in an address at Williams College, 1853, p. 20.

§ *Colonial Documents*, vi. 1005.

the title to about 15,000 acres of land in the present county of Montgomery, lying contiguous to the lands of the Mohawk Indians, and sent to Ireland for his nephew, then about 20 or 25, to take care of the estate. The young man improved the advantages of his position. He managed his trust with much sagacity, traded with the Indians, and was thrifty in increasing his own temporal fortunes. He was very popular with the Indians. This arose from his residence among them, his familiar manners and associations, his frequent adoption of their dress, his knowledge of their language, and his disposition to promote their interests. Unfortunately, indeed, he lived on such free and easy terms with the Indians that his morals derived no improvement from his temptations. The natural traits of his character fitted him for the work he had undertaken; and, soon commending himself to the government, he was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He was many years colonel in the Albany militia, and became a member of his Majesty's Council for the Province of New York. He was a member of the Albany Convention in 1754, and took a prominent part in arranging the negotiations with the Indians. He was appointed a major-general in 1755. The expedition to Crown Point was confided to General Johnson. Whatever may have been his errors in the management of that expedition, the victory gained at Lake George secured for him great éclat and a substantial remuneration. A title of nobility and £5000 were no mean additions to his importance and resources. General Johnson was present at Ticonderoga, in command of the Indians, in the unfortunate campaign of General Abercrombie, in 1758. His military services were very considerable throughout the whole war. By the death of Prideaux, he succeeded to the command of the western brigade, which was despatched, in 1759, to capture Niagara; and his success in taking this important fortified post added much to his military reputation. In fact, no man in the colonies gained so much distinction in the war, or derived personally so much benefit from it, as Sir William Johnson.

His first residence was at the mouth of the Schoharie Creek, but he afterwards erected, at *Fort Johnson*, a large stone mansion, on the north side of the Mohawk, and on the west bank of a small creek, about three miles west of the village of Amsterdam. This building was a noble structure for its day, and was fortified until the end of the war. It is still standing, and retains its old name. About ten years before his death, Sir William Johnson erected *Johnson Hall*, a large wooden building with detached stone wings, situated one mile west from the village of Johnstown. He lived in comparative affluence.*

Sir William Johnson's *dream contest* with the old sachem Hendrick is not a victory that reflects much credit upon his moral tactics. The following account of it is taken from Schoolcraft's *Notes of the Iroquois*. Hendrick, or "Soiengarahta," is the chief who granted to General, afterwards Sir William Johnson, the "dream-land," as it was significantly called. At an entertainment given by the general, which lasted several days, our chief was one of the guests. Johnson had recently received from his royal master several military dresses, resplendent with scarlet and gold, which were temptingly displayed in view of the guests. One morning, before the close of the entertainment, Hendrick told his pale-faced friend and patron that he had had a dream the night previous. "Indeed!" said the General; "and what did my red brother dream?" "I dreamt," replied the chief, "that you presented me with one of those dresses,"—pointing to them. "You shall have it," was the prompt response; and in a few moments the person of the majestic chief was ensconced in the splendid uniform he had coveted. It is necessary, in this connection, to observe that one of the prevailing superstitions of the Iroquois was an implicit faith in dreams, which, they said, were sent for wise purposes by the Great Spirit, and that, if a dream is not fulfilled, at whatever hazard or sacrifice, some evil may fall upon the dreamer. At a subsequent entertainment, given by General Johnson, Hendrick was invited, as before. On this occasion it was the General's turn to dream; he dreamt, or

* See Simm's History of Schoharie County and Border Wars.

pretended to Hendrick to have dreamt, that the Iroquois chief had made him a present of three thousand acres of land, describing its locality. The chief replied, "You shall have it, but I will never dream with you again. Your dreams are too hard for me." The conveyance of his tract of land afterwards received the royal sanction or confirmation, and is, at the present day, known as "the Royal Grant."* The number of acres is represented by some writers as much greater.†

The following notice of Sir William Johnson, taken from an American journal of the day, probably gives a fair insight into his general habits and mode of life:—"Major-General Johnson (an Irish gentleman) is universally esteemed in our parts for the part he sustains. Besides his experience and skill as an old officer, he is particularly happy in making himself beloved by all sorts of people, and can conform to all company and conversations. He is very much of the fine gentleman in genteel company. But, as the inhabitants next to him are mostly Dutch, he sits down with them, and smokes his tobacco, drinks flip, and talks of improvements, bears, and beaver-skins. Being surrounded with Indians, he speaks several of their languages well, and has always some of them with him. His house is a safe and hospitable retreat for them from the enemy. He takes care of their wives and children when they go out on particular parties, and even wears their dress. In short, by his honest dealings with them in trade, and his courage, which has often been successfully tried with them, and his courteous behaviour, he has so endeared himself to them, that they chose him one of their chief sachems or princes, and esteem him as their common father."

Sir William Johnson died very suddenly on the 24th of June, 1774, just before the war of the Revolution. Many persons believe that he poisoned himself—especially the old settlers; but there is no clear evidence of the fact. His mind had become much perplexed with the threatening state of political affairs. After his death, his son, Sir John Johnson, joined the British cause against the Americans, as did other members of the family. Sir William Johnson was buried at Johnstown, in a vault beneath the Episcopal church erected in 1772. When the church was burnt down, the site was so altered as to leave the vault outside the walls. The estates of the family were confiscated in consequence of the part they took in the Revolution.

NOTE XIII.—Page 20.

PHINEAS LYMAN.

GENERAL LYMAN was one of the sons of New England who are ready to embark in any thing for their own interests or the interests of their country. He was born at Sheffield, Connecticut, and was graduated at Yale College in 1738. He took a high rank at the bar, and represented at times the legislature of his State. Just before the French war he became one of the associates in the Connecticut company, formed to buy and settle lands on the Susquehanna. In 1754, he acted as major-general in the army, and led the van of the expedition to Crown Point. Stopping at the "great carrying-place" on the Hudson, he commenced building a fort there whilst waiting for the rest of the army to come up. This fort was first called *Fort Lyman*; and this name was the popular title for some time

* Notes of the Iroquois, p. 417.

† Simm's History gives, on the authority of *Henry Frey Yates*, the number of acres at 100,000. Others call it "12 miles square." I find the following reference to the Royal Grant in Rev. John Taylor's *Missionary Tour through the Mohawk and Black River Countries* in 1802. "*Norway*, [in Herkimer county.] The Royal Grant, or Sir William Johnson's land, is a tolerably good tract. It lies between the Upper and Lower Canada Creeks. It is high land, and is a grazing country."—*Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii. 1149.

after General Johnson had changed the name to *Fort Edward* "in honour of one of the princes of the royal blood."* General Lyman marched from Fort Edward to Lake George with the heavy artillery, and reached the lake five days before the battle. He is entitled to more reputation for important service in the battle than he has received. General Johnson, who had been wounded in the early part of the day, retired to his tent, and the command devolved upon General Lyman. All that a brave and intelligent officer could do in rallying the spirit and in directing the movements of his men was done; and yet, in General Johnson's official report of the action, General Lyman's name is not even mentioned. Dr. Dwight exalts Lyman and depreciates Johnson.

In the following year, General Lyman commanded at Fort Edward. The sources of information within my reach do not enable me to give any other details of General Lyman's military life until the year 1762, towards the close of the war, when he commanded about twenty-five hundred provincial troops sent to reinforce the British fleet in the expedition against Havana. Israel Putnam was lieutenant-colonel. General Lyman's troops assisted in the storming of the castle *El Moro*, whose capture led to the fall of Havana. After the peace, General Lyman was commissioned by his brother officers to receive the prize-money gained in the expedition; and he repaired to England for that purpose. He was also charged by a company in the colonies, called "Military Adventurers," to solicit from the crown a grant of land on the Mississippi. After a delay of several years, during which time General Lyman became disheartened and mentally depressed, he was finally successful in obtaining a grant. On his return to America, he was accompanied by Colonel Putnam and a few others on a tour to the Great West by the way of New Orleans, and up the Mississippi to the neighbourhood of Natchez. After locating their lands, they went back to the "land of steady habits," for the purpose of encouraging emigration to the sunny Southwest. General Lyman returned the following year, and made some progress in "forming an establishment at Natchez, where he remained till his death."†

NOTE XIV.—Page 21.

EPHRAIM WILLIAMS.

EPHRAIM WILLIAMS was descended from the best Puritan ancestry. He was always enterprising. Having lost his parents early in life, he was brought up by his grandfather, Abraham Jackson. In his youth, he made several voyages to Europe, visiting England, Spain, and Holland, probably for commercial purposes. In 1744, he was made captain and put in command of Fort Massachusetts, in the western part of the province, in the valley of the Hoosic. After the war, he had an important agency in settling that section of country. At the beginning of the campaign of 1755, he was made colonel, and commanded the third Massachusetts regiment. His aide was William Williams, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Colonel Williams, being well versed in warfare, especially with the Indians, was placed at the head of the detachment sent out against Dieskau's column. The particulars of this expedition are given in the discourse. His great error on that day was in not sending out scouts. Colonel Williams was early struck with a ball through the head, and fell dead on

* His Royal Highness, Prince EDWARD, became Duke of York in 1758. In that year he attended, as volunteer, the naval expedition under Lord Howe, fitted out for the capture of Cherbourg. Many volunteers of high extraction accompanied the expedition in order to counteract the aversion growing out of the conduct of the late commanders. The expedition was successful. Prince Edward afterwards came near being taken prisoner while reconnoitering near St. Malo. He was a personage of some distinction.

† See Life of Israel Putnam, by William Cutter.

the spot. Two of his companions immediately concealed the body from the scalping-knife of the advancing Indians. His body was found after the battle, un mutilated, and it was buried some fifteen or twenty rods southeast of where he fell, at the foot of "a huge pine beside the military road." About twenty years ago, his nephew, Dr. William H. Williams, of Raleigh, North Carolina, "disinterred and carried off the skull." The ancient pine has fallen, but the stump remains. Two smaller trees have sprung from the parent stock, and still shade the place of burial. E. W. B. Canning, Esq., who superintended the erection of the monument on the part of the alumni of the college, and who explored the ground carefully, says, "Directed by an aged man, who dug up the skull, I found the grave, and had it refilled, and a large pyramidal boulder set over it, with the inscription E. W. 1755."

The rock on which Colonel Williams fell is now surmounted by a marble monument, twelve feet high. The earth has been excavated a little around the rock, so that the top of the rock is now seven feet from the ground. The monument was erected by the alumni of Williams College in 1854, and is an appropriate, tasteful, and worthy memorial. It is surrounded by a good iron fence, which visitors find the means of climbing. The writer, without recommending others to follow his example, went up to the monument for the purpose of *copying the inscription*; and as he now gives the inscriptions, *verbatim et literatim*, this historical motive cannot be so well plead hereafter. The inscriptions were copied exactly according to the words in the lines, and the division of syllables, as cut upon the marble, but they are here given continuously, partly to save space, and partly to avoid the exhibition of an unskilful performance, for the words and syllables are arranged (at least on two sides of the monument) in not the most tasteful style. This is a matter of regret. I notice it simply to put the Lake George "Committee of Monuments" upon their guard, and to induce them to see that the stonecutter has a fac-simile of the work to be done. The beauty of a monumental inscription depends very much on the arrangement of the lines and of the words.

The following inscription is on the *east* side of the monument, towards the plank road:—

To the memory of COLONEL EPHRAIM WILLIAMS. A native of Newton, Mass., who after gallantly defending the frontiers of his native State, served under General Johnson against the French and Indians, and nobly fell near this spot in the bloody conflict of Sept. 8th, 1755, in the 42, year of his age.

On the *north* side, towards the lake:—

A lover of peace and learning, as courteous and generous as he was brave and patriotic. Col. Williams sympathized deeply with the privations of the frontier settlers, and by his will, made at Albany on his way to the field of battle, provided for the founding among them of an institution of learning, which has since been chartered as Williams College.

On the *west* side, towards the old road:—

Forti ac magnanimo EPH. WILLIAMS, Collegii Gulielmi Conditori; Qui in hostibus patriæ repellendis, prope hoc saxum cecidit; grati alumni posuerunt, A. D. 1854.

On the *south* side, towards the toll-gate:—

This monument is erected by the alumni of Williams College: the ground donated by E. H. ROSEKRANS, M. W. PERRINE, J. HAVILAND.

The monument makes a beautiful appearance from the road, and is looked for and admired by all travellers. The monument is more accessible from the old road than from the new; but the old road is not in very good condition, although it can be used.

JOSEPH WHITE, Esq.,* thus sums up the traits of Colonel Williams' character:—"For whatever is known of his opinions, as well as of his personal appearance, habits, and manners, we are indebted to the impressions he made upon his contemporaries, as revealed in the scanty notices of the times and in the few traditions which yet linger amongst us." From these we learn that his "person was large and fleshy," his countenance benignant, and his appearance commanding; that he loved and excelled in the rough games and feats of agility and strength so common in his day, and often engaged in them with his soldiers during the intervals of duty; that his "address was easy, his manners simple and conciliating;" that he loved books, and the society of literary men, "and often lamented the want of a liberal education;" that to these endowments were added the higher qualities of mind—quick and clear perceptions, a solid judgment, a lofty courage, and an unwavering constancy in scenes of danger, and that military genius which needed only a fitting opportunity to place him in the highest walks of his profession. He knew both how to command and to conciliate the affections of his men. "He was greatly beloved by them when living, and lamented when dead." And, finally, in the language of Colonel Worthington, who knew him well, "Humanity made a most striking trait in his character, and universal benevolence was his ruling passion." He truly adds, "His memory will always be dear."

NOTE XV.—Page 22.

HENDRICK, THE MOHAWK SACHEM.

The following particulars of the life of Hendrick are taken from Schoolcraft's *Notes of the Iroquois* :—

"The great Mohawk sacheem fought against the French at first as a youthful scout, and afterwards as an approved war-captain. There was a time in our settlements when there was a moral force in the name of King Hendrick and his Mohawks, which had an electric effect; and, at the time he died, his loss was widely and deeply felt and lamented even in Great Britain. The precise time of Hendrick's birth cannot be ascertained; but several circumstances conspire to induce the belief that it took place some time between the years 1680 and 1690. It is said that he on two occasions visited his British sovereign. On one of these occasions, doubtless the last, which is conjectured to have been about the year 1740, his Majesty presented him a rich suit of clothes,—a green coat, set off with Brussels and gold lace, and a cocked hat, such as was worn by the court gentry of that period. In these he sat for his portrait, which was executed by a London artist. From this portrait, which has no date, engravings were made, of a large cabinet-size, and coloured in conformity with the original. I saw one of these engravings in the family of a relative in Schenectady, which has, however, been long since destroyed by fire; and recently I have seen another, which had been, for nearly a century, the property of Jeremiah Lansing, Esq., of Albany, N. Y. The prosopological indicia of his countenance denote a kind disposition, honesty of purpose, and an order of intellect much above mediocrity. Although his complexion was the 'shadowed livery of the burning sun,' his figure and countenance were singularly prepossessing and commanding. The concurrent testimony of every traditionist awards to him great natural talents, judgment, and sagacity. As a diplomatist and orator he was greatly distinguished, and divided the palm only with his brother Abraham, of pious memory, who was exclusively devoted to civil pursuits. Hendrick's

* Joseph White, Esq's., address before the alumni of Williams College, 1855, commemorative of EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, abounds in historical incident and eloquent description. I am indebted to this address for the biographical hints of Colonel Williams in the beginning of this note, and also for other items of information.

greatest speech was delivered on the 21 July, 1754, 'in the name and behalf of the Six Nations,' in answer to a speech made by the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, 'in the name of the King of Great Britain, and in the name and in behalf of the American colonies,' which were all represented on the occasion. This speech, with several others, is reported at full length in the *London Gentlemen's Magazine*, the editor whereof speaks of these speeches in the following terms:—'They contain strains of eloquence which might have done honour to Tully or Demosthenes.' The speeches of Hendrick and his brother Abraham, made the same day above named, in the name and behalf of the Mohawks of the Upper Castle (Canajoharie) to the Governor of New York, attended by several sachems of the other (six) nations, were also evincive of much talent and eloquence. The journalists of the day paid our chief the following high compliment, which I have every reason to believe was not undeserved or exaggerated praise:—'For capacity, bravery, vigour of mind, and immovable integrity, combined, he excelled all the aboriginal inhabitants of which we have any knowledge.' Hendrick was, in his day, esteemed the bravest of the brave among the Iroquois. His spirit, energy, and martial prowess, were the subjects of much laudation. He was the leader in behalf of the British in several expeditions of parties of his red warriors against the Canadian French and their tawny associates; for he and his people were ever the fast friends and uncompromising allies of the British, on this important frontier. The last and principal of these expeditions was to Lake George, in which our hero fell, mortally wounded, at the memorable battle of September 8th, 1755."

NOTE XVI.—Page 22.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

ISRAEL PUTNAM served as a private at the battle of Lake George, not having probably yet received his commission of second lieutenant of the sixth company of the third Connecticut regiment. He marched under Colonel Whiting on "the bloody morning scout." He was frequently detached as a ranger to go in quest of the enemy. He was a fearless spirit, genial and generous in his social traits, and shrewd after Indians in a forest. He has made many an excursion about Lake George, has often pulled an oar upon its waters, and then, drawing up his boat on the shore, toiled his way through the forests and over the mountains. He was several times employed, immediately after the battle of Lake George, in ranging through the country towards Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Captain Putnam and Captain Rogers were both famous as rangers. The latter was a New Hampshire man, and turned against us in the Revolution.

Major Putnam was at Fort Edward with General Webb when Montcalm was expected to attack Fort William Henry. He accompanied the general on a visit to the latter fort, and obtained permission to reconnoitre on the lake. With eighteen volunteers, in three boats, he went as far as Northwest Bay, and from thence saw a large body of the enemy on an island. Returning to the fort, he reported to General Webb the certainty of the enemy's approach, when that timorous officer wished to retire immediately to Fort Edward, but was persuaded to wait until the next morning. General Webb then went back with Putnam. The latter was anxious to assist in the defence of the fort, but could not obtain permission. After the capture of Fort William Henry, he was sent to reconnoitre the enemy. His account of the scene at the ruins may be found under the note on Fort William Henry, at the end.

Major Putnam was in Abercrombie's unsuccessful expedition to Ticonderoga in 1758, and was in the detachment with Lord Howe when he fell. Putnam was taken prisoner

the same year, on one of his excursions near Lake Champlain, and carried to Montreal; but he was soon released on exchange. In 1759, he accompanied General Amherst, was at the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and at the capitulation of Montreal in 1760. In 1762, he served with General Lyman in the British expedition which captured Havana. In 1764, he took part in the war against Pontiac, the celebrated Ottoway chief, and as colonel commanded a regiment of four hundred Connecticut troops.

When the Revolutionary war broke out, Israel Putnam came forward to do his part. He assisted at Bunker's Hill, and some make him the general-in-chief on that memorable day. He had much to do with its preparations and movements. He was afterwards appointed a major-general by Congress. His services in the Revolution were many and arduous. He was beloved by Washington. He died in 1790, aged 72, having made a profession of religion a few years before. At the time of his death, he was senior major-general in the armies of the United States.

NOTE XVII.—Page 22.

THE OFFICERS AND THEIR GRAVES.

Among the provincial officers slain at the battle of Lake George, were Colonel Ephraim Williams, Colonel Moses Titcomb, Major Noah Ashley, Captains Elisha Hawley, Moses Porter, Jared Ingersoll, Solomon Keys, Stoddart, Farrell, Stevens, William McGinnis, with eight lieutenants and several ensigns. Some notice of Colonel *Williams* has been already given. Officers of lower rank having commonly had little opportunity, either by age or service, of personal distinction, are not much noticed in history.

Colonel *Moses Titcomb*, of Essex county, Massachusetts, was an officer held in high esteem. He had served as major in the expedition against Louisburg. The position of his regiment in the battle of Lake George was on the extreme right of the camp, by itself, with no other regiment before or behind it. Dieskau laid out his strength in his attack on the right after he had failed on the centre; but the "Massachusetts boys" held their ground. The three Massachusetts regiments under the command of Ruggles, Titcomb, and Williams, [now commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pomroy,] were all stationed on the right,—that of Titcomb being on the extreme right. These regiments lost one hundred and twenty-two men out of the one hundred and ninety-one provincial troops who fell on that day, with the only two colonels who were among the killed.

Captain *Elisha Hawley* had served under Williams at Fort Massachusetts. He was in "the bloody morning scout." Being shot through the lungs, he was brought to the camp, where he died in a few days.*

Captain *Moses Porter*, of Hadley, Massachusetts, was also in "the bloody morning scout." Whilst defending himself in the retreat, he was made prisoner, bound to a tree, and cut in pieces by the Indians.†

Captain *William McGinnis*, of Schenectady, New York, commanded the detachment which gallantly marched from Fort Edward to the camp. This detachment captured the baggage of the French army, and assisted in driving the enemy farther on towards their boats. Towards the end of the action, a ball glanced from a tree and struck McGinnis on the head, making a severe contusion. He, however, continued to command; but he charged a companion-in-arms, in case he fell to the ground, to protect him from the tomahawks of the Indians.‡ He was carried on a horse to the camp. A letter from a soldier, written on the 10th, says, "Captain Maginiss is in the pains of death."§ He died on that day.||

My materials do not supply me with information about the other officers.

* Hoyt's Antiquarian Researches.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Colonial Doc., vi. 1005.

|| Ibid. 1007.

The officers were naturally buried by themselves, as companions-in-arms; and their graves are pointed out by tradition to the men of this generation. Their location is in a secluded spot on the west of the road not far from Fort George. A guide is necessary in order to show the graves to a stranger.

NOTE XVIII.—Page 23.

PROVIDENCE IN OUR FAVOUR AT LAKE GEORGE IN 1755.

That there is an overruling Providence in the affairs of men and nations, must be admitted by all who read the Scriptures or attentively consider the history of the world. In times of crisis or of special deliverance from evil, our dependence upon God is more apt to be noticed than at ordinary times. And hence the rescue of our army from destruction in the campaign of 1755 will probably be acknowledged among the many interpositions of God in our country's behalf. Providence was on our side in the means by which Dieskau's expedition was defeated, and in the threatened evils averted by his defeat.

1. When Dieskau set out from Crown Point, the probability of his capturing Fort Edward was a very strong one. He knew that the American army had reached the lake, and that Fort Edward was defended only by a small garrison. His own army, large enough, under any circumstances that were likely to occur, to accomplish an easy victory, (or, as General Johnson called it, a "cheap victory,") had landed at South Bay, and marched within three miles of the fort without being discovered. An assault would have been a triumph, so far as human calculation can solve the question. Even his regulars, without the aid of Canadians and Indians, could have overcome the garrison "encamped separately without the works." What prevented an attack? The Indians and Canadians, learning that there were cannon at the fort, were afraid to face them, and thus Dieskau was compelled to abandon his well-laid original plan. This part of his plan was, moreover, all the capital which, as a military trader, he could invest with a sure return of interest; and, failing here, he became a mere adventurer. The reluctance of the Indians to attack the "carrying-place," when that was the prime object of the expedition, is a notable event under any aspect; but it seems that their apprehensions arose from false information. General Johnson, writing after the battle, says that there was "no cannon there." Was it not remarkable that Indian scouts did not convey more reliable intelligence, and especially that the intelligence should have been of that kind, and of that kind *only*, which prevented the assault?

Again:—The detachment sent out from Johnson's camp, commonly known afterwards as "the bloody morning scout," was on the verge of utter destruction. One of the enemy's muskets, prematurely discharged, gave the detachment warning of danger before they had fully entered within the ambush of the half-moon. If they had marched a little farther, they would have been compassed about by a terrible foe, who had received orders to give no quarter. As it was, the detachment lost nearly one man in ten. The retreat was well conducted; and one-third of the whole army was enabled to get back safely for the defence of the camp. It was fortunate, too, that the detachment was defeated so near to the camp. Had the ambuscade been made some miles farther off, greater losses might have occurred in the hot pursuit of an excited foe, and Colonel Cole's reinforcement would not have been so speedily sent for the rescue.

In the third place, Providence aided the American cause in the halt made by Dieskau before the camp. Was it owing to the fright of the Indians skulking away at the unexpected sight of the "big guns"? Their scouts had reported that there were no guns at the camp, and yet this was the very dépôt of the artillery. The astonished Indians and

Canadians became faint-hearted a second time; and the delay of Dieskau, whether owing to this or some other cause, enabled the whole detachment to get safely within the lines, recover their spirits, and make ready for the defence. General Lyman had arrived only five days before with a division of the army and the heavy artillery.

All these circumstances, taken together, constitute a case of providential interposition worthy to be enrolled among the grateful reminiscences of a religious people.

2. The results likely to have followed the success of Dieskau's expedition increase the claim for the recognition of our dependence upon God and our gratitude for His providential deliverance. The fate of the whole northern frontier was connected with the issues of this engagement. Fort Edward would have been a victory "cheap" enough after Johnson's defeat; and then the route was a plain one to Albany. The distance was short, and the prize was great. The scenes of horror which might or would have occurred cannot be known to finite mind. Great desolation by fire, plunder, and the sword, was the sad prospect. Such, at least, were the apprehensions of intelligent and brave men at the time. The author of "*The Review of Military Operations*" writes thus:—"Dieskau, having in vain waited the coming up of our army, at last resolved himself to advance towards them, and, if he proved victorious, to desolate our northern settlements, lay the towns of Albany and Schenectady in ashes, and cut off all communication with Oswego. A dreadful resolution, my lord. And had he succeeded—I tremble at the thought—had he succeeded! But the Supreme Disposer of events had not yet devoted us to ruin, and therefore, like the counsels of Ahithophel, blasted the sanguinary purpose."* In another place, the same writer says:—"The repulse of the French delivered us from such unspeakable calamity, naturally to be apprehended from the enemy's success, that we have infinite reason to thank the God of battles for thus remarkably rescuing us from the jaws of perdition."†

Colonel BANCROFT, who was a captain in "the bloody morning scout," thus states the case in a letter to Dr. Cooper, 1773:—"Witness the engagement he had with Baron Dieskau on the 8th September, 1755, (a day that I shall ever have great reason to remember, for I lost nineteen men that morning out of sixty that were under my command,)—an action as important in its consequences as any that ever happened to this country, from the first settlement of it to the present day. Had the Baron succeeded in his attempt against Sir William, this country, at least great part of it, would have been deluged in Blood and Slaughter; and such scenes of Horror and Distress would have ensued, as would shock the ear of the most obdurate wretch. * * * The City of Albany would have fallen a sacrifice to that most enterprising general, the Baron. The Baron very justly observed that, had he won the day in that action, he would easily have cut off all supplies from General Shirley, and who, of course, must of necessity submitted to any terms the Baron would have pleased to impose. The Six Nations, had Sir William been defeated, would have joyn'd the Baron, and the City of New York would have been the Baron's head-quarters. But, thanks be to God, all-indulgent Heaven did not think proper to devote this country to ruin."‡ Although Colonel Bancroft, in this letter, was evidently paying a compliment to Sir William, and used exaggerated terms, there can still be no doubt that the most serious and dreadful consequences would have resulted from Dieskau's success. Providence stayed the wave of his aggression, and it rolled back upon his own expedition with recoiling ruin.

* *Review*, p. 58.

† *Ibid.* p. 66.

‡ *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, iv. 487, 488.

NOTE XIX.—Page 25.

THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1763.

The Old French War continued until the close of 1762, when the terms of peace were settled by the *treaty of Paris*, and signed in February, 1763. France was obliged to cede to Great Britain not only Nova Scotia and Canada, but, "in order to establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subjects of dispute" about territory, the King of France ceded to his Britannic Majesty "every thing he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and the island on which it is situated." By the same treaty, Spain, which was an ally of France in the continental war, was obliged, as the means of recovering Havana, to cede to England Florida, St. Augustine, the Bay of Pensacola, and all her possessions to the east and southeast of the Mississippi. To compensate Spain for the loss of Florida, France, by a secret treaty on the same day, ceded to Spain New Orleans and all her territory west of the Mississippi. The present boundaries of the United States were obtained by subsequent treaties.

The treaty of Paris was, for the Anglo-Saxons on the American continent, one of the greatest trophies ever won in war by a victorious nation. Whilst Great Britain came into permanent possession of Canada, the territory east of the Mississippi, including the fertile regions northwest of the Ohio, reverted to the United States when they became of age, twenty-one years after, at the treaty of 1783. These possessions rendered certain the acquisition of the adjoining territory, and decided the destiny of the vast domain west and southwest of the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean.

NOTE XX.—Page 28.

FORT WILLIAM HENRY.

The first notice that I find of a proposal to build a fort on Lake George is from LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DELANCEY, who, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated December, 1754, says that there ought to be a fort "at the south of Lake St. Sacrament." He gives four reasons:—1. As a protection to the Mohawks. 2. A defence against the French. 3. A support to our own military expeditions. 4. A declaration of right to the soil and our purpose to maintain it.* General Johnson mentions his determination to build a fort, on the day after his arrival at the lake; and, on the 4th of September, says, "We have fixed upon a spot for a fort; it is clearing, and near 400 men employed."† On Sept. 7th, the council of officers decided "that a picketed fort be built without delay, under the direction of Col. Williams, and sufficient to contain and accommodate 100 men." At the same time, General Johnson informs the council that he himself thinks a larger fort ought to be built. A week after, (Sept. 14th,) the minutes of the council state, "The General acquainted this council of war that his opinion had always inclined to have some stronger fortification than a picketed fort built here, but had yielded to the opinions of the council of war, and to their information that most of the troops had an aversion to digging, and that the majority of the officers and troops were eagerly bent on having only a picketed fort. * * *

* Colonial Documents, vi. 925.

† This and the following quotations from Johnson's Letters are either from his unpublished manuscripts, or from those published in Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. ii.

The General did not take any vote or resolution thereon, finding the council averse to having any other fort than a picketed one."

As the General was opposed to the existing plan, it excites no great surprise to learn that, on the 29th Sept., the picketed fort was "advancing slowly," and that the General found "only a dozen men in it." On the same day "the General acquainted his council of war that Sir Charles Hardy, *Governor of New York*, had expressed the opinion that a more respectable fort than a picketed one should be there built," and that "the gentlemen of his *Majesty's Council* with him at Albany concur in the same opinion." Whereupon a majority of the council decided that "a place of strength, with magazines and storehouses and barracks, be immediately set about to be built; * * * that it be made large enough to garrison upon occasions 500 men, and that 700 men be detached out of this army" for the purpose. The General immediately sends a despatch to the officer at Fort Edward "for *all the spades and shovels you have, except a few for your own use*;" and reports, on the 7th of October, that "the fort goes on, all things considered, *pretty well*. There are many difficulties to combat against, from that averseness to labour and the want of due subordination which I early found to be the capital sins of this army." The farmers of New England and New York had been more than a month already at the lake, wasting the best time of the autumn instead of advancing upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and now they are to be set to work in building a large fort. Was not this measure a sign that the expedition was not to go any farther that year? On Oct. 9th, the council decide that it was inexpedient to proceed to Ticonderoga, for two reasons:—"the want of a sufficient number of men and a sufficient quantity of provisions." On Oct. 11th, the council report about 3000 men at the camp fit for duty, 500 at Fort Edward, and 2500 recruiting at Albany; and, on the 22d, Johnson reports 4500 men fit for duty; but "the fort goes on slowly." On Nov. 4th, the General writes, "Our fort here is *far advanced to its completion*. It has met with many obstructions, and the men have been very backward in working there, which has been partly owing to several of their officers. * * * I hope it will be in a tenable condition in eight or nine days."

On Nov. 4th, the General writes—"The fort *finishing here*, (which I have named WILLIAM HENRY, after two of the royal family,*) if the weather permits, will, I hope, be speedily fit to receive a garrison." All accounts represent the season as having been remarkably propitious; the autumn had been fine, healthy weather, with scarcely any rain to interrupt the works. Of course, it was too late now to proceed on the expedition; and, on the 21st, the council of war so decided for the third time, and finally. On the 24th, the council decided that 750 men were sufficient to garrison the two forts:—430 for Fort William Henry, and 320 for Fort Edward; and that "these troops should be considered as a regiment, and that Jonathan Bagley, Esq., should be Colonel, Nathan Whiting, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Edmund Matthews, Major." The army was now disbanded, and returned home. General Johnson held his last council of war at Fort Edward, on the 28th of November, and on the 2d of December resigned his command, passing a eulogy on Captain Eyres, the engineer of both forts, and quartermaster-general. This eulogy was not without effect; for the engineer received a commission as major on the 7th of January, 1756.

From this brief history of the origin of Fort William Henry, it will be seen that it was commenced at the end of September and finished towards the end of November; its con-

* WILLIAM, Duke of Cumberland, was a general of some eminence in the two wars. He was the commander of the Allies at the battle of Fontenoy, 1745, where he was defeated by Marshal Saxe. He was then only twenty-four years of age, and this is said to have been his first action. He commanded the Allies, also, at the breaking out of the new war, and engaged in the campaign of Germany, in 1757. This was a very disastrous campaign. His Royal Highness, with an army of 38,000, was obliged to capitulate to the French. The articles were signed at the camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8th, 1757. The Duke of Cumberland was grandson of George II., and brother of George III., at that time heir-apparent to the throne. Next to Prince George, who afterwards became King George III., came his brother *Edward*, and next to Edward came *William Henry*.

struction occupying about two months. It further appears that the officers were opposed to building such a fort. They objected not only to the work itself, as out of season, but to the site selected by Captain Eyres. This fact appears from General Johnson's letter of Oct. 22d, addressed to the Governor, in which he says:—"As to this fort building here, whatever insinuations have been made to your Honour to the contrary, I am convinced that the ground is *the most advantageous* of any which could be chosen here, and has not within 370 paces of it *any rising ground that commands it*, and that distance is not within battery in breach. This fort has borne, and continues to bear, the *malignant malice* of some, for which I can find no other reason than ignorance or obstinacy." It is certain that the site of the fort always had opponents from the earliest period. The "*Review of Military Operations*" states that "it was faulted by Mr. Montresor, the chief-engineer."* It seems, however, to have been a favourite project with Delancey and Johnson; but military men have good reason for doubting the wisdom of its location.

Its history is interesting, but sad. Receiving a small garrison for the winter of 1755-56, nothing occurred to test its powers. Rogers, the celebrated ranger of New Hampshire, "made many incursions upon the enemy, fell on their scattered parties, and scarce ever returned to Fort William Henry without scalps and prisoners."† During the summer of 1756, the passage from Fort Edward to Fort William Henry was "infested and many of our people cut off."‡ At this period, Montcalm arrived in America, and one of his first excursions was to examine Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and to complete the preparations at those important posts. The campaign in the colonies contemplated nothing for Fort William Henry. In January, 1757, Stark sallied forth from it down Lake Champlain, and returned after a skirmish to receive promotion. But the hour of danger is at hand. MONTCALM surveys it, and its doom is fixed in history, although delayed for a short period, as if to test its capability in a fair contest. On the morning of the 19th of March, the garrison was alarmed by a noise and light at a considerable distance down the lake; and in about two hours the enemy appeared on the ice in front of the fort. They consisted of about 2000 troops, (regulars, Canadians, and Indians,) provided with 300 scaling-ladders and all the requisites for a brisk attack. But, the guns of the garrison opening a heavy fire upon them, they retreat at daybreak. They, however, soon renewed the attack, with their forces arranged on the lake and on each side, as if to show a determination to surround it. But they are again compelled to withdraw, after a warm reception from the garrison. On the 20th, at midnight, they return to the charge, without any better success, and, after setting fire to two sloops and most of the bateaux, are compelled again to withdraw. At noon on the 21st, the French sent two men, with a flag, to the fort, demanding a surrender in the name of M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada. The commanding officer declining to comply with this summons, the French came back to the assault; but in vain. The young fort defended itself with energy and perseverance. The enemy, finally, were compelled to beat a retreat and to retire from before its mounds and guns. Setting fire to the storehouses of the provincial soldiers, the huts of the rangers, and a sloop on the stocks, they retrace their steps upon the ice, and leave to the fort an interval of honourable repose. Major Eyres, the engineer who constructed the fort, was at this time one of its officers; and its successful defence must have been to him a matter of intense interest and satisfaction.

Summer comes, and the glory of Fort William Henry is soon to disappear. The garrison, with the men in the intrenchments situated where Fort George now stands, numbered 2500 men, under the command of Colonel George Munro. General Webb was at Fort Edward with 4000 men. Montcalm advanced from Crown Point and Ticonderoga with an army of 8000, including 800 Indians, determined to capture the fort that had baffled all his attempts in the spring. Whilst his own corps proceeded down the lake in two hundred

* *Review*, p. 70.

† *Do.* p. 121.

‡ *Do.* p. 123.

and fifty boats, in company with the Indians in their canoes, De Levi marched his detachment through the unbroken forests on the western shore. On the 24th of July, Colonel Palmer set out from Fort William Henry with 350 men in twenty-two barges, for the purpose of reconnoitering and cutting off, if possible, the advanced corps of the French. Never was expedition more unfortunate. A large party of Canadians and Indians, "who were in ambush among the islands of Lake St. Sacrament," suddenly came upon the English at early dawn on the 26th. Only two boats escaped; 180 persons were made prisoners, and 161 were either killed or drowned. This event was emphatically the *Carnage of the Lake*, presaging on its waters what was soon to occur on its shores.

On the 1st of August, Montcalm held a council of war in Northwest Bay; and, on the following day, the army was seen from the fort in the distance. General Webb, who had come up from Fort Edward with 200 men, marched off the next morning, and left Fort William Henry to its fate. No one has attempted to vindicate the conduct of this officer, especially as he displayed a similar spirit in retreating from Oswego the preceding year. Colonel Munro was left with about 500 men in the garrison and 1700 in the intrenchments. Montcalm landed his soldiers and artillery about a mile and a half from the fort, in a cove or bay beyond the range of its guns. The Chevalier de Levi took up his position directly in the rear of the fort, in the large field through which the new road now passes, whilst the Canadians and Indians planted themselves on the old road, in the rear of the intrenchments. While the trenches were forming for the attack on the fort, Montcalm sent, on the 3d of August, a summons of capitulation, which was responded to with a strong negative by Colonel Munro. Montcalm opened two batteries on the 5th and 7th, and the firing was kept up on both sides with much spirit. But the cannon in the fort was not equal to its defence. Ten of its largest pieces had burst, and others had been put *hors du combat*. Finally, when Montcalm had established his approaches on the plain near the fort, and was about to open two more batteries, and when all hope of receiving reinforcements from General Webb, or of defending the fort any longer, had vanished, Colonel Munro surrendered, with terms of honourable capitulation. All the implements of war, provisions, &c. were to be given up, and the officers and soldiers were to promise not to serve in the war for eighteen months. According to one of the articles, the garrison was to march at once to the intrenched camp, at the present Fort George; and from thence the whole army, thus united, were to march out early the next morning to Fort Edward. A guard was also promised to protect the American soldiers from the Indians; or, as Article VI. expresses it, "An officer shall be given as an hostage till the detachment returns which shall be given for an escort to his Britannic Majesty's troops."

Father Roubaud,* a Jesuit missionary among the Indians in Montcalm's camp, states that "the English troops, arrayed in beautiful order, marched out to go and shut themselves up till the next day in their intrenchments. Their march was not marked by any contravention of the laws of nations. But the Indians did not delay to strike their blow." After the army had marched out, they penetrated into the fort in crowds, pillaged every thing they could find, and butchered the sick who were left behind in the casemates. These scenes at the fort were to be followed by still more terrible doings at the intrenchments; or, as Father Roubaud writes, "This was only a slight prelude to the cruel tragedy of the morrow. Early in the morning the Indians began to assemble about the intrenchments, demanding of the English, goods, provisions,—in a word, every thing valuable which their greedy eyes could perceive: but these demands were made in a tone which announced that a thrust of a spear would be the price of a refusal. Nor were these requirements rejected by the English. They undressed, they stripped themselves, they reduced themselves to

* A long and interesting account of Montcalm's expedition was written by Father Roubaud. It was translated by Dr. Kip, now Bishop of California, and is, in his volume, entitled "The Early Jesuit Missions," published in 1848. The volume is a valuable one.

nothing, to purchase at least their lives by this surrender of every thing. This compliance should have softened the savages; but their heart is not like that of any other human being; you may say that naturally it is the very seat of inhumanity. Nothing that had been done rendered them less disposed to go to most severe extremes. A corps of the French troops, consisting of 400 men, appointed to protect the retreat of the enemy, arrived and arranged themselves in haste. The English commenced firing out. Woe to those who closed the march, or to the stragglers whom illness, or any other reason, separated ever so little from the main body! They were as good as dead, and their lifeless bodies soon strewed the ground and covered the circuit of the intrenchments. This butchery, which at first was the work of only a few savages, became the signal which transformed all into so many ferocious beasts. They discharged right and left heavy blows with their hatchets on those who came within their reach. The massacre, however, was not of any duration, nor was it by any means as considerable as so much fury would have seemed to give reason to fear; it did not exceed forty or fifty men."

The scene of carnage that took place was undoubtedly dreadful. Dr. Dwight says that, "of the New Hampshire regiment, which brought up the rear and suffered the most, *eighty were lost out of two hundred.*" The number who fell victims to the savage foe must have been far greater than Father Roubaud allows. Indeed, his own account would lead the reader to expect a greater loss. The New Hampshire regiment alone suffered more than he estimates for the whole corps of 2200 men. Two or three hundred may not be an exaggerated estimate of the dead in a scene which, known as "the massacre of Fort William Henry," filled the colonies with horror.

To what extent Montcalm is responsible for this massacre is not fully ascertained. He cannot be entirely exculpated; for, 1. He knew the Indian thirst for blood and pillage, and had distinctly admitted, in his summons to Colonel Munro, the feeling of revenge that was lying dormant among his savage allies. 2. The scenes that took place the evening and night before, when the Indians entered the fort, were a sufficient warning of the outbreak that was preparing for the morrow. 3. He sent a detachment of only 400 men to protect the colonial troops from a body of 800 savages and their numerous abettors. The main body of Montcalm's army was encamped near the site of the present Court-House at Caldwell, about a mile from the intrenchments, which were on the eminence where Fort George now stands. The Indians, therefore, had not the fear of the French army before their eyes, being only watched by a small detachment. 4. Montcalm did not make his appearance at the scene of slaughter till quite a long time after it had commenced. Father Roubaud says that "M. de Montcalm, on account of the distance of his tent, *did not learn till a late hour what was going on.*" The question is whether his knowledge of Indian customs in war ought not to have made him anticipate what was going on and promptly suppress the outbreak at the beginning by his personal presence. He alone could prevent the carnage; and not even he, after it had once begun, except by the force of arms. Father Roubaud declares that "Montcalm, on the very first news of the occurrence, repaired to the spot with a speed that marked the goodness of his heart," and that he used every effort to restrain the savages. But it was now too late, unless he had brought up a fresh detachment of soldiers with him. The Jesuit missionary admits that, after Montcalm had come upon the ground, "the tumult, nevertheless, was *constantly on the increase.*" 5. Montcalm had permitted the same outrages before, on a smaller scale. Dr. Dwight's narrative states:—"The marquis had, the preceding year, violated the conditions on which the fort at Oswego had been surrendered to him. He had permitted the savages on that occasion also to insult and rob the garrison, massacre several of the men on the parade, and Lieutenant de la Court, who had been wounded in his tent, and to scalp all the sick in the hospital. To close the scene, he delivered up twenty of the garrison, in lieu of twenty Indians who had been killed, to be disposed of as these tigers in human shape should think proper.

The attempt to vindicate such a man as this must be a very idle employment." 6. Some of the French writers admit that the massacre was tolerated, and that there was an indisposition to use the proper means for its suppression. The ecclesiastic who wrote "The History of Canada, its Church and its Missions," says, "The prisoners were cruelly massacred by the allied savages, whom the French could not, or unfortunately, perhaps, did not wish to take the trouble to stop, in their horrible thirst for blood and vengeance."*

Hard was the fate of the brave soldiers. Four or five hundred reached Fort Edward that night in a body; about as many more placed themselves under the protection of the French, and passed the night in Fort William Henry; of the remainder, those who survived wandered about singly or in small companies until they reached the settlements. The guns of Fort Edward were fired for several days, in order to give the stragglers the right direction.

The French burnt the fort and all the buildings at the intrenchments, and carried off all the guns, ammunition, provisions, and munitions of war; and, seizing all the boats, sailed back with war-songs and thanksgivings to Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Montreal, and Quebec.

Major Putnam, who was despatched by General Webb from Fort Edward to watch the motions of the enemy, reached Lake George just as the rear of the French army had started on its return. He gives the following awful picture of what he saw:—"The fort was entirely destroyed; the barracks, out-houses, and buildings, were a heap of ruins; the cannon, stores, boats, and vessels, were all carried away. The fires were still burning—the smoke and stench offensive and suffocating. Innumerable fragments of human skulls, and bones and carcasses half consumed, were still frying and broiling in the decaying fires. Dead bodies, mangled with scalping-knives and tomahawks in all the wantonness of Indian barbarity, were everywhere to be seen. More than one hundred women, butchered and shockingly mangled, lay upon the ground still weltering in their gore. Devastation, barbarity, and horror, everywhere appeared; and the spectacle presented was too diabolical and awful either to be endured or described." This account of what Putnam saw with his own eyes, as the scene lay before him with its acts all perpetrated, confirms the general tradition of the enormity and extent of the crime. Putnam probably meant to describe the whole scene at the fort and at the intrenchments. There were "barracks, out-houses, and buildings," at both places; but in these words he may refer particularly to the *intrenchments*, where most of the troops were quartered, and which was the spot where the last of the series of barbarities was perpetrated. The idea that Putnam's account includes a glance at the fort and at the intrenchments best accords with the facts of history, and does no violence to the narrative.

The ruins of Fort William Henry still remain, a memorial of the old campaign of 1755 and of the reverses and massacre of 1757.†

The splendid and imposing hotel which an enterprising company has erected for the public in its immediate proximity stands, like a house of festivity near graves, to show the contrasts of human life and the changes which a century makes in the affairs of men.

* "Cruellement massacrés par les sauvages alliés, qu'on ne peut, ou, malheureusement, peut-être, qu'on ne voulut pas se donner la peine d'arrêter," &c.—*Histoire de Canada*, &c., par M. L'ABBÉ BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. Paris, 1852, i. 292.

† Colonel Montresor makes a brief allusion to the size of Fort William Henry in a letter to Captain Green, 1759. He says, "Major Eyres begun Fort William Henry in September, and it was finished by the end of November following—being an irregular square of about 300 feet each side—with Provincials alone, and that without any expense."—*Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv. 525

The plan of the fort, as given in Blodget's Map of the Battle of Lake George, makes its dimensions a fourth larger than Colonel Montresor's estimate.

NOTE XXI.—Page 28.

FORT TICONDEROGA.

The fort at Ticonderoga was built in 1755, the same year that Fort William Henry was built. The British fort at the inlet of the lake confronted the French fort at the outlet. Fort Ticonderoga is situated properly on *Lake Champlain*, at the junction of the outlet of Lake George with Lake Champlain. It was called by the French "Fort Vaudreuil" or "Carillon;" more frequently the latter.*

The earliest definite notice of this fort obtained by our camp at Lake George was from the report of Captain Rogers, the famous New Hampshire scout. On the 27th of September, 1755, he states, "We went about one mile and a half farther, and discovered their grand encampment, crept through their guards to within about sixty rods, *found a fort building there, discovered a number of cannon mounted.* We had a convenient station for a view which we kept till towards night, and by the appearance of the tents and troops, French and Indians, we judged them to be about three thousand. Their situation commands the passage at the carrying-place, [between the two lakes,] and, we thought, the passage down Champlain from Wood Creek to Crown Point."† Rogers was right in this conjecture.

The works at Crown Point were enlarged in 1755; and, in the summer of 1756, the Marquis de Montcalm visited Crown Point and Ticonderoga almost immediately after his arrival in Canada, and strengthened their fortifications and garrisons. These two fortifications gave the French immense advantages in defending the approaches to Canada.

Fort Ticonderoga was a *point d'appui* for Montcalm's expedition down the lake in 1757 for the capture of Fort William Henry. The French army of eight thousand men made a great display on their passage from Fort Ticonderoga to Lake George, and from thence to Fort William Henry.

In the following year, Major-General Abercrombie collected at Lake George, for the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the largest army yet assembled in America. About six thousand regulars and ten thousand provincials embarked in nine hundred bateaux and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats. The scene is described as magnificent; but never was expedition of high hope doomed to so bitter disappointment. The reader is referred to Bancroft's United States, vol. iv. 300-306, for a full account of this mismanaged and unfortunate campaign. Lord Howe fell at Trout Brook, near its junction with the outlet. Montcalm had advanced his lines about half a mile from the fort, and thrown up intrenchments protected by felled trees; and here, with thirty-six hundred men, he bade defiance to the British army. The latter were repulsed with the loss of five hundred and forty-eight killed and thirteen hundred and eighty-five wounded. The French loss was one hundred and four killed and two hundred and seventy-three wounded. Montcalm commanded the centre. The old intrenchments are still distinctly visible. Abercrombie retreated the next day, and returned to his camp at Fort George. This great exploit of Montcalm at the northern extremity of the lake, together with his exploit against Fort William Henry at its southern extremity, the preceding year, made him emphatically the "hero of the lake."

In 1759, the English again formed an expedition under General Amherst against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and this year the French, after a show of resistance at Fort Ticonderoga, deserted it, set fire to the works, and went down Lake Champlain. The fort at Crown Point was also abandoned without resistance. General Amherst rebuilt and

* *Vaudreuil*, after the French governor of Canada; *Carillon*, in French, means chime or noise like that of a waterfall. The Indian name of Ticonderoga has a similar origin, meaning "sounding waters."

† Doc. Hist. of N. Y., iv. 261. There are twenty-eight reports of the scouts employed at different intervals. The reports contain curious and interesting information.

strengthened both of these forts. Thus, after four years of bloodshed, *the objects of General Johnson's expedition of 1755 were attained.*

Fort Ticonderoga is celebrated as the scene of the first successful expedition in the Revolutionary War. After the affairs at Lexington and Concord in March, 1775, an expedition was organized against Fort Ticonderoga, under the command of Colonels Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold. With eighty-three men, the Americans crossed over to the fort early in the morning of May 10th, and quietly stole up to the sally-post; and, following the retreating sentinel, they reached the parade and gave a tremendous shout. The garrison, aroused from their slumber by the noise, rushed with their arms to the parade only to be made prisoners. Colonel Allen, finding his way to the apartment of Captain Delaplace, summoned him to surrender. Startled and confounded at such a summons, and asking for its authority, the captain was still further amazed at the memorable reply of Allen:—"In the name of God and the Continental Congress!" The garrison numbered only forty-eight; but the military stores were valuable.

Fort Ticonderoga was evacuated by the Americans on July 6th, 1777, on the approach of Burgoyne. The latter drew up some cannon on the high hill across the outlet of Lake George which completely commanded the fort. It was formerly called Sugarloaf Hill, now Mount Defiance. General St. Clair, seeing the impossibility of further resistance, crossed over to Mount Independence, and retreated towards Fort Edward. This evacuation was a very unfortunate event, but was inevitable under the circumstances.

Fort Ticonderoga is well worth a visit. The scenery, as well as the ruins, is a rich reward to the traveller. The distance between the two lakes is about four miles. The outlet of Lake George, for two and a half miles, is almost a continued series of rapids, cascades, and waterfalls. The walk from the lower to the upper village, *along the outlet*, is one of the most delightful excursions the traveller can take. Arriving at the upper falls, which are very beautiful, if he will pursue his walk across fields and over fences to a *narrow shoot* in the outlet, about half a mile above the falls, he will not regret the trouble. The difference in the level of the two lakes is about two hundred feet.

NOTE XXII.—Page 28.

FORT GEORGE.

FORT GEORGE was built, as a regular fort of masonry, by GENERAL AMHERST, in 1759. The eminence had, however, been occupied as a stronghold, first by *General Johnson* in 1755; then by *Colonel Munro* in 1757, whose intrenched camp was located there; and afterwards by *General Abercrombie* in 1758. A manuscript authority states, "July 12th, 1758: * * * Towards evening, the general came over to *line out a fort* on the Rocky Hill, where *our breastwork* was last year." Abercrombie, however, did not construct the masonry works, whose ruins are yet visible.

The Honourable GEORGE BANCROFT, the historian of the United States, furnished me with the above extract, and kindly corrected an error in my discourse, as published in the *Albany Express*, in which Fort George is said to have been built by Abercrombie. Mr. Bancroft adds the following interesting item:—"Amherst arrived at Lake George, June 21, 1759. The very next day he and Montresor traced out the ground for a fort. See *Mante's History*, page 207. This must have been Fort George. I find this entry in *Knox*, i. 381: "1759, July 4. Our engineers make great progress in erecting the new fort, and have got a fresh supply of bricklayers and masons from the three corps that arrived yesterday."*

* I am very much indebted to Mr. Bancroft for his prompt reply to a letter asking for information. The

As General Amherst started on his expedition down the lake on July 21st, Fort George was probably finished about that time. The fort is small, and could be easily put up in a month with the resources at the command of General Amherst. Colonel John Montresor, the king's chief-engineer, found fault, at the time of the erection of Fort William Henry, with Captain Eyres' selection of that site. - Four years later, Colonel Montresor selected the site of the "Rocky Hill" in preference to the old location, and thus gives us a view of his original idea. Almost all persons will concur in his opinion that the site of Fort George is superior to that of Fort William Henry.

The history of FORT GEORGE is of but little interest. The possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point drove the French from the lakes; and the capitulation of Quebec and Montreal followed. Hence Fort George was not of any use in the Old French War.

In the war of the Revolution it was occupied by our troops, but they retired from it before the formidable force of Burgoyne in 1777. Burgoyne, in his march to the South, derived for a time the chief supplies for his army from Canada through Lake George. He occupied the fort with a small garrison. From July 28th to August 15th, the British were continually employed in bringing forward provisions and ammunition from Lake George to the first navigable part of the Hudson River, about fifteen miles. Advancing too far to keep this line as his support, Burgoyne was obliged to look elsewhere for his supplies as Bennington, &c. After Burgoyne's surrender, Lake George, with its fort, fell once more into the hands of the Americans. In 1780, Major Carleton made a diversion in favour of Sir John Johnson, who had headed an expedition into the Mohawk Valley. He took Fort George by surprise, and the small garrison were made prisoners of war.

The following legend about a treasure supposed to be concealed in Fort George is to be found in *Hoyt's Antiquarian Researches* :—

"On the authority of a legend preserved in the Burdick family at Athol, the grandfather was in the Old French War, and was present at the head of the lake when a large amount of treasure was buried there, to a portion of which he laid a claim which he vested in his son David. On the strength of this or a similar legend, a party of adventurers in 1818, with windlasses and other implements, excavated the old well at Fort George. They only obtained a parcel of rubbish and a hearty laugh at one of their companions who was precipitated into the well—fortunately without damage."

NOTE XXIII.—Page 28.

FORT GAGE.

FORT GAGE is situated on a high hill southwest of Fort George, about a mile from the Lake House, on the plank road. The height of the hill is the protection of the fort on the side towards the lake. Intrenchments protect it on the other sides. It was probably built in 1759, when General Gage, then Brigadier, was at the lake, commander of the light infantry. The fort has no renown in war, and there is scarcely an allusion to it in history.

General THOMAS GAGE was among the principal military men in the war. His commission was dated 2d March, 1751. He came to this country with General Braddock. He was then lieutenant-colonel of Sir Peter Halket's regiment, which led the van across the Monongahela. Colonel Gage's detachment of three hundred and fifty men was the first to meet the enemy; and he has been much censured as the cause of the disaster, particu-

courtesies hoped for by an inquirer after historical truth were worthily illustrated in the example of the great American historian.

larly for not supporting his flanking parties at once instead of falling back and becoming entangled with the troops sent up to reinforce him. But it is easier for a second party to speak than for the first party to act right, when Indians are in ambush. In 1759, Gage had the rank of brigadier. He was commissioned as major-general in 1761, as lieutenant-general in 1770, and as general in 1782.

General Gage was the last Royal governor of Massachusetts. He was commissioned in 1774. He ordered the military movements which resulted in the shedding of the first blood in the Revolutionary War. The detachment of eight hundred soldiers sent by him to destroy the military stores at Concord arrived, on their way, at Lexington, on April 19th, 1775, and fired upon a company of provincial militia assembled there, killing eight of the number. Gage commanded the British forces at the battle of Bunker's Hill. His conduct was unsatisfactory to the king's councillors, and he was recalled immediately. Some time after his return to England he was made a baronet. He died in 1787.

NOTE XXIV.—Page 28.

THE OLD MILITARY ROAD AND ITS MEMORIALS.

The old road which General Johnson cut through the forests with his army in 1755 runs the same general course as the plank road, and is yet visible. The plank road frequently crosses it. Modern skill has, of course, made improvements in its track, just as the road in use before the plank road probably made a few deviations from the old military road. But the latter road must have been almost identical with the common road used before the plank road.

The old road has some interesting memorials. It commenced at Fort Edward and passed near Glen's Falls. About half way from Fort Edward to Lake George is a stream yet called by the name of "*Half-Way Brook*." This was a halting-place for all teamsters, and also for soldiers on their march. In 1758, after Abercrombie had retreated from Ticonderoga before Montcalm, the French marauding parties were very bold and enterprising. In the latter part of July they attacked a regiment at this place and killed a number of men. Two weeks later, they fell upon a convoy of wagoners at the same place, and, murdering most of them, seized the stores, which became their plunder. This place was afterwards protected by a small stockade fort, which was put up by General Amherst in 1759, as he was advancing with his army to Lake George. Mr. Bancroft kindly furnished me with the following memorandum:—"In Knox i. 376 is this entry: 'June 21st, 1759. The stockade at the seven-mile post is finished to-day.'" Its site is still pointed out.

Going towards the lake, there was formerly another *small fort, near the toll-gate*, which I explored, last September, with Mr. Brown, the obliging keeper of the tavern near the gate. The fort stood about fifty rods east of the road, on what is now Isaac Smith's farm, nearly opposite to the house on the west side of the road, about fifty rods south of Mr. Brown's tavern. It enclosed about an acre and a half. The last remnants of the pickets were taken down eight or nine years ago, and the whole was ploughed over. The site, however, is still distinctly seen.

About half a mile beyond Mr. Brown's and the toll-gate is *Williams' monument*, which is seen from both roads. The old road turns to the left at the toll-gate and goes up the rising ground to where Colonel Williams' detachment met Dieskau about ten o'clock in the morning, September 8th, 1755. The ambuscade was adroitly arranged, and came near cutting off the whole detachment. Old Hendrick fell in advance of Williams, and probably was shot down about a third of a mile from the toll-gate.

Rocky Brook is about three-quarters of a mile beyond Williams' monument, just beyond the point where the old road unites with the new. Here Colonel Williams halted until the division under Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting came up. During this halt the French and Indians arranged their fatal ambuscade.

Bloody Pond is a large stagnant pool, to the right of the road, about one mile from the monument, a quarter of a mile from Rocky Brook, and two and a half miles from the lake. It is close by the roadside, and is viewed by the traveller with strange and painful interest. Here the detachment of the morning rallied in their retreat and made a short stand behind the pond, doing considerable execution. In this neighbourhood, also, between the pond and the brook, occurred the skirmish, in the evening of the same day, between a division of Dieskau's retreating troops and the companies from Fort Edward under the command of McGinnis. The latter received his death-wound in this engagement. A large number having been killed during the day at this pond and their bodies thrown into the water, the name of "Bloody Pond" was given, and is retained among the sad memorials of the campaign.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cole's detachment of three hundred men, sent from the camp to cover the retreat of Williams' men, met them about half a mile north of "Bloody Pond." This retreat was well conducted, under Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, of New Haven, who commanded the second Connecticut regiment. The Baron Dieskau acknowledged to General Johnson that the retreat reflected great praise upon the Americans.

About a mile and a half north of Bloody Pond, and one mile from Lake George, is *Gage's Hill*, so called from the fort on its summit. While passing near this hill, Dieskau's soldiers first descried Johnson's camp through an opening in the woods, and the provincials were filled with alarm at the sight of their own retreating detachment and the advancing corps of French regulars, with their glistening bayonets.

The *site of the battle of Lake George* is on the old road, a little in advance of where Fort George now stands. The road was the centre of the battle-field. The Americans occupied a strong position. The low grounds on either side, the lake in the rear, the eminences on the left, the intrenchment of trees, and a good view in front, gave them important advantages.

Johnson's camp was protected by a rough intrenchment after the battle, at which time, also, its dimensions were contracted. Ten days after the battle, on September 18th, a proposition was made to move the camp, probably to the beautiful plain near the new fort, and on which the splendid "Fort William Henry Hotel" now stands. It is also probable that Johnson himself, who seems to have been very partial to that locality, was in favour of the removal. The council of officers, however, decided not to remove the camp, but "to keep the present encampments, with the following alterations:—that Colonel Bagby and Colonel Blanchard remove their encampments, and the flank-breastwork to run along the flank of Colonel Ruggles', and the rocky eminence on the left flank, if found advisable, to be left without the breastworks; which alterations are to be immediately set about."*

The camp of 1757 was located at the same spot. The breastworks were improved, and huts and barracks were built outside. A few days before Fort William Henry was captured, the Canadians and Indians, who were posted in the rear of the camp, made an attack on the intrenchments, and came very near carrying them. The reader will remember that the massacre of 1757 occurred as the provincials were marching out of the *intrenched camp* and were moving on the *old road* towards Fort Edward.

In 1758, Abererombie still further improved the defences of the hill, and "lined out" the extensive intrenchments which are yet visible. The old road was also put in better order by the army under his command, and also taken care of, the following year, when General Amherst came to the lake. Although much cut up by the artillery and baggage-wagons, it was nevertheless widened, continually repaired, and reduced to military order.

* Johnson's Manuscripts.

The old road passed down to the lake, and then turned up the rising ground where Fort William Henry stands. This road was the one used for many years after the town of Bolton was settled. The town of Caldwell was set off from Bolton in 1810, and the village made rapid progress for a short time. Dr. Dwight, who visited this locality a second time in 1811, says, "I little thought that within ten years there would be raised up a beautiful village, * * * erroneously named Fort George, which has been built on the western side of the lake, *immediately after turning its southern boundary.*"* At that time the road to Caldwell, Bolton, and the more northern settlements, ran round the southern shore, past Fort William Henry. The road was straightened, some thirty years ago, from a point about a mile from the Lake House, at which place the old road turns down to the right, to Fort George; whilst the new route went down the ravine and over a small bridge, which has since been enlarged and improved by the bridge and embankments of the plank road.

There formerly stood a large building on the south shore of the lake, northeast of the turn of the old road, near the barracks of old Fort George. It was between the fort and the lake, close to the water, and was called "*The Long House.*" This building was erected for a hospital in the Revolutionary War. Colonel Trumbull, in his "Reminiscences," writing from Crown Point in 1776, says, "The sick, who required the attentions of a hospital, were twenty-eight hundred; so that when they were sent off, with the number of men necessary to row them to *the hospital, which had been established at the south end of Lake George*, a distance of fifty miles, there remained but the shadow of an army."† In 1800, "The Long House" was kept as a tavern by John Varner. At that time there was a log hut on the site of Mr. Sherrill's "Lake House."‡

All along the old military road, musket-balls, firelocks, buttons, flints, &c. are dug up. The supply is not yet exhausted. The following lines from a poem by E. W. B. CANNING, Esq., faithfully and beautifully describe some of the events and scenes on the old military road:—

"He who that field might now o'ergo,
Where Death his harvest reaped of woe
And paled the warrior's brow,
Shall find the relics of the fray
Occasional along his way,
Upturned by spade or plough;
The battered bullet, and the bone
Of fallen friend or foe unknown—
Mayhap a rusted weapon shown;—
And look o'er smiling field afar,
Where trod the iron heel of war.
That dark, sad Pool without a wave
Of hundreds slain made easy grave,
Still lies as dark, as sad, as deep,
While lilies o'er its bosom creep,
Unconscious that their beauties grow
From the forgotten dead below.
The peasant leaves his toil to tell
Where the brave WILLIAMS fought and fell;
And where beside the ancient path,
When battle's storm had spent its wrath,
Beneath a huge pine's whispering crown,
In forest grave they laid him down.

* Dwight's Travels, iii. 411.

† Trumbull's Reminiscences, p. 28.

‡ Narrative of Pelatiah Richards.

Hard by a giant boulder's side
 They show the spot on which he died;
 And on its summit, tall and lone,
 Now stands the monumental stone,
 To tell the traveller from afar
 That ingrate we no longer are.”*

The following are the distances from *Lake George* to some of the principal localities on the old military road, or what is now the plank road. The distances are as accurate as can be given, perhaps, in general terms:—

From Lake George to Fort Gage.....	1 mile.
“ “ Bloody Pond.....	2½ miles.
“ “ Rocky Brook.....	2¾ “
“ “ Williams’ Monument.....	3½ “
“ “ Toll-gate.....	} 4 “
“ “ Brown’s tavern... }	
“ “ Old picketed fort }	
“ “ Half-Way Brook.....	7½ “
“ “ Glen’s Falls.....	9½ “
“ “ Fort Edward.....	14½ “

On visiting Fort Edward, last autumn, I was disappointed in finding that the site of the old fort was becoming cut up into lots for small dwellings. The remains of the fort are still visible, and the ground on three sides easily traced out. The ruins of the barracks, where Putnam distinguished himself for courage in putting out the fire, are also to be seen. Procuring a bateau, we crossed over to the island, which was the place of encampment in the wars. In rowing up and down the Hudson for an hour at the “great carrying-place” of the olden time, we could scarcely conceive that this had once been the scene of so much busy enterprise and warlike preparation. Lyman, Johnson, Putnam, Stark, Schuyler, Burgoyne, were all familiar with the spot. Indeed, the “great carrying-place” was well known from the earliest times of communication with Canada, both for the embarkation of goods and as an important military post.

NOTE XXV.—Page 29.

THE OLD FRENCH WAR IN DEFENCE OF PROTESTANTISM.

The importance of the contest whose scenes were often in the neighbourhood of Lake George is exhibited in its influence upon the civil and religious destiny of our country. The Old French War involved great issues of religious and of political predominance. This note has reference to its religious character; and a few passages are offered, in illustration, from Mr. Bancroft’s “History of the United States:”

“The contest which had now spread into both hemispheres began in America. The English colonies, dragging England into their strife, claimed to advance their frontiers, and to include the great central valley of the continent in their system. The American question, therefore, was, Shall the continued colonization of North America be made under the auspices of English Protestantism and popular liberty, or shall the tottering legitimacy of France, in its connection with Roman Catholic Christianity, win for itself new empire

* Extracted from the Poem delivered at Williamstown, in 1855, in commemoration of Colonel Williams, by E. W. B. CANNING, Esq. The poem is among the very best productions of our literary festivals.

in that hemisphere? The question of the European continent was, Shall a Protestant revolutionary kingdom, like Prussia, be permitted to rise up and grow strong within its heart? Considered in its unity, as interesting mankind, the question was, Shall the Reformation, developed to the fulness of Free Inquiry, succeed in its protest against the Middle Age?

"A deep but perhaps unconscious conviction of approaching decrepitude bound together the legitimate Catholic sovereigns. In all Europe there was a striving after reform. Men were growing weary of the superstitions of the Middle Age; of idlers and beggars sheltering themselves in sanctuaries; of hopes of present improvement, suppressed by the anxious terrors of hell and purgatory; the countless monks and priests, whose vows of celibacy tempted to licentiousness. The lovers and upholders of the past desired a union of the governments that rested upon mediæval traditions. For years had it been whispered that the House of Austria should unite itself firmly with the House of Bourbon. * * * And in May, 1756,—that is, in the two hundred and eightieth year of the jealous strife between the Houses of Hapsburg and of Capet,—France and Austria put aside their ancient rivalry, and joined to defend the Europe of the Middle Age, with its legitimate despotisms, its aristocracies, and its ecclesiastical powers, against Protestantism and the encroachments of free inquiry.

"Among the rulers of the European continent, Frederick, with but four millions of subjects, stood forth alone, 'the unshaken bulwark of Protestantism and freedom of thought.' His kingdom itself was the offspring of the Reformation, in its origin revolutionary and Protestant. Protestantism saw in him its champion. As the contest advanced, the fervent Clement the Thirteenth commemorated an Austrian victory over Prussia, by the present of a consecrated cap and sword; while, in the weekly concerts for prayer in New England, petitions went up for the Prussian hero, 'who had drawn his sword in the cause of religious liberty, of the Protestant interest, and the liberties of Europe.' 'His victories,' said Mayhew, of Boston, 'are our own.'

"Protestantism, philosophic freedom, and the nascent democracy, struggled with the conspiracy of European prejudice and legitimacy, of priestcraft and despotism. The centre of that conspiracy was the Empress of Austria, with the apostate Elector of Saxony, who was King of Poland."—*Bancroft's History of U. S.*, iv. 276-281.

The following additional testimony to the religious character of the war is taken from the King of England's speech to Parliament, in 1756, and the replies to it. The KING's speech states:—

"It is my first resolution to apply my utmost efforts for the security of my kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of my crown and subjects in America and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of our naval force as by other methods. Another great object which I have at heart, is, *the preservation of the Protestant Religion* and the liberties of Europe, and in that view to adhere to and encourage my allies."

In the address of the HOUSE OF LORDS, they state that

"*The preservation of the Protestant Religion* and the liberties of Europe are never to be forgotten by us. *Of this pure religion* and these invaluable liberties Great Britain has, in all times, been a principal bulwark, and cannot fail to continue so under your Majesty's auspicious reign."

In the address of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, they state:—

"Permit us to assure your Majesty that your faithful Commons, excited by zeal for the *Protestant cause* and the liberties of Europe, do, with most unfeigned joy, humbly offer their congratulations to your Majesty on the late signal success in Germany; and that they will vigorously and effectually enable your Majesty to improve the happy turn of affairs

there; and, in particular, to support your good ally, the King of Prussia, in such a manner as the magnanimity and unexampled efforts of this great Prince *in defence of the religion and civil liberties of Europe* deserve and require."

Protestantism and Liberty were thus our watchwords in the French War, whose campaigns opened in 1755.

NOTE XXVI.—Page 30.

DISTURBING GRAVES—THE OLD FRENCH BURIAL-GROUND.

A large number of the dead sleep on the old battle-fields of Lake George. War leaves its terrible marks beneath the soil as well as on it.

"The old French burial-ground," as it is called, is in the woods, not far from the public burial-ground, and to the south of it. In the course of time a number of these graves have been disturbed by visitors, partly to settle the question whether they were really graves or not, partly in the hope of obtaining some article of curiosity, partly to do something new in an hour of idleness, partly to excite attention as the hero of an exploit, or from other motives which human nature furnishes in its vast depository of propelling forces. Thoughtlessness, rather than deliberate wantonness, has prompted to these unchristian deeds. May not the dead be permitted to slumber undisturbed? Because they were strangers in a strange land, shall their bodies be exposed by indecent disinterment and become the subjects of vain jesting and idle curiosity? Surely there is a sacredness in the house of the grave that not only forbids the absence of violent intrusion, but solicits thoughts of sympathy and awe, and, at least, the manifestation of outward respect. To dig into graves and disturb the dead is an offence against the laws of Christian society. It is liable to punishment in the penitentiary. But its greatest offence is against God and the sentiment of religion in the human heart. The doctrine of the resurrection consecrates the dust of the grave:—"This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal, immortality." The grandest and most awful associations of religion bid us tread softly and solemnly among graves.

I am persuaded that these acts referred to have been done chiefly from want of consideration. Certainly they ought not to be repeated; and the object of this public protestation is simply to call attention to the subject, as the only requisite to prevent this thoughtless conduct in future.

It ought to be added that the proprietors of the soil positively forbid any interference with the graves. Their feelings have been deeply injured by several of these transactions of late years. May a kindly and seasonable remonstrance have its proper effect! Let the dead sleep on! Traveller, thou art soon to be in the grave and numbered with them!*

* In the discourse as delivered and first printed, I mentioned the rumour that the body of the lamented Williams had been removed to Williamstown and buried there with the solemn rites due to his memory. I was surprised to find, on lately reading the Report of the Committee of the Alumni of Williams' College, that his skull, the only part of his body removed, had been carried away to Raleigh, North Carolina. See Note XIV., where this information is communicated. Since writing that note, and whilst Note XXVI. is actually in the printer's hands, I learn that Colonel Williams' nephew died shortly after his return to Raleigh, and that the skull of his lamented uncle is now "probably somewhere in Virginia, but its precise resting-place is not certain." Ought not this relic of the dead to be either restored to the place of its military sepulture, or delivered to the authorities of Williams' College for burial at the place of the civil fame of the thoughtful and honoured founder of the institution? This suggestion is made without the slightest intention to cast reflections anywhere.

NOTE XXVII.—Page 31.

MONUMENTS AT LAKE GEORGE.

Near the conclusion of the Historical Discourse, a proposition was made to erect two monuments:—one commemorative of the victory at Lake George and of the officers and men who fell in the action; and the other to the memory of Hendrick, the old sachem who was a steadfast friend and ally of the colonies. A meeting was held in the LAKE HOUSE, on the evening of September 8th, 1855, of which the following report appeared in the *Albany Morning Express* of the 12th:—

PROPOSED MONUMENTS AT LAKE GEORGE.

At a meeting of the citizens of Caldwell and visitors, held at the Lake House, on the centennial anniversary of the battle of Lake George, on motion of the Rev. Dr. Campbell, H. Wood, Esq., of Caldwell, was appointed Chairman and D. B. Ketchum Secretary.

The purpose of the meeting was stated by the Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, who offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That this meeting deem it expedient to take measures for the erection on the battle-ground of Lake George of a monument commemorative of the victory and tributary to the memory of those who fell in it; and also for the erection of a monument to the memory of Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem, near to the place where he is supposed to have fallen.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to collect subscriptions, to select plans, to secure the ground, and to do all things necessary for the erection of the monuments in a style appropriate to the object in view.

The resolutions were adopted, and the following gentlemen appointed by the chair, as the committee, viz.:—

J. N. CAMPBELL, D.D., Albany.

WILLIAM PARMELEE, do.

THOMAS ARCHBALD, Caldwell.

DAVID BANKS, New York.

M. W. PERRINE, Glen's Falls.

The meeting then adjourned.

September 8th, 1855.

H. WOOD, Chairman.

D. B. KETCHUM, Secretary.

It is to be hoped that there is sufficient public spirit, intelligent appreciation, and substantial gratitude, in the present generation, to secure the erection of these monuments. Can persons of wealth do a better service without curtailing their charities than to give a liberal donation for this purpose? The execution of the works will probably depend upon the larger contributions of a comparatively small number of the wealthy, in connection with the smaller contributions of the masses. The cost of the monuments ought not to be less than *one thousand dollars each*. On the day of the centennial celebration, a lady gave \$5, and a gentleman \$100, towards the monuments. Let every one who thinks well of the scheme *do something* for it without delay. Good wishes, when carried out, become GOOD DEEDS; but good resolutions, unexecuted, end in NOTHING. Contributions may be left with Mr. Sherrill, at the Lake House, or Mr. Gale, at the Fort William Henry Hotel, or may be sent to any member of the committee, as may be most convenient. [The lamented Judge Parmelee, who was on the committee, has deceased within the year.]

I appeal, in behalf of the monuments, to several classes, one and all.

Citizens of Warren county! Remember the great victory gained in this frontier wilderness which is now the abode of a prosperous and indebted people.

Inhabitants of the Empire State! These memorials of the olden time—let them declare you thankful possessors of a great inheritance. Ought not such an empire to have its monuments?

Fellow-members of the Union! Help forward works which commemorate colonial achievements. United we stood, and united we stand.

New Englanders! The blood of your sires reddened the earth, and in these graves are their bones. In the names of Lyman, and Williams, and Putnam, and Stark, give your co-operation.

Englishmen! The monuments celebrate men and things that bring honour to the reign of George II.

Men of wealth! Here you may ennoble a portion of your substance in perpetuating historical records rich in the treasures of heroic patriotism.

Ladies! Ye promoters of every good work,—in intellect the best judges and in heart readiest to execute,—say to all around you, “These monuments shall rise!”

Antiquarians, lovers of history! Publish to posterity on massive granite and marble the names and the deeds of a past century.

Military men! The campaign of 1755 was yours; yours its valour of soul, its victory of arms, and its laurels of fame.

Patrons of the Fine Arts! Let sculpture show forth its ideal beauty and its workmanship of skill to the admiring gaze of thousands of spectators.

Visitors of the Lake! A free-will offering for the monuments will refresh the memories of your journey and gladden your return to these scenes of attraction.

Christians! Providence was on the side of our country; and may we not place here a memorial of its deliverance? Have Protestantism and liberty no claims for your commemoration?

LET THE MONUMENTS ASCEND!

NOTE XXVIII.

BLODGET'S “PROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE BATTLE NEAR LAKE GEORGE.”

The map, which is prefixed to most of the copies of this pamphlet, is a very valuable historical document, illustrating the American camp, the position of the different regiments in it, and the general circumstances of the attack and defence in the two engagements of the 8th of September, 1755.

This map, as I am informed by Dr. O'CALLAGHAN, of Albany, was originally published by Samuel Blodget, in Boston, 1755. It was republished in England on February 2d, 1756, as appears on the map, which was certainly rapid work for those times.

The present map was engraved from a London copy for the Documentary History of New York, edited by Dr. O'Callaghan. At his kind suggestion, I applied for the use of the plates, and obtained permission from the publishers to have as many impressions as the pamphlet might call for.

Dr. O'CALLAGHAN, replying in a very obliging manner to my second application to him for information, states that a notice of Blodget may be found in Massachusetts Hist. Coll., iv. p. 153, second series, which has been reprinted by Allen in his Biographical Dictionary. He adds:—“It seems that Samuel Blodget was born at Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1723, and was engaged in the expedition against Louisburg in 1745. Hence, possibly, he was afterwards tempted to join the expedition of 1755. He died in 1807, at Haverhill, Massachusetts.”

Dr. O'Callaghan further states that a copy of the first edition of Blodget's map is in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts.

A copy of Blodget's map, on a reduced scale, is to be found in Mr. Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. iv. p. 210. With the aid of the references, nineteen in number, on this reduced map, I have filled up, as far as was in my power, the thirty-nine references on the larger map.

REFERENCES TO THE MAP.

First Engagement.

1. The road. 2. The French and Indians. 3. Hendrick on horseback. 4. Our men.
5. Our Indians far within the ambushade.

Second Engagement.

6. Canadians and French Indians. 7. Dieskau's regulars making the attack on the centre. 8. The road. 9. Our men in the action posted in front. 10. The trees felled for the breastworks. 11. Three of the large cannon. 12. One of the cannon posted "advantageously" on the eminence. 13, 14, 15, 16. Illustrating the attack on the right; particulars not known. 17. The guards on the flanks and rear. 18. Woods and swamp. 19. Low ground near the lake. 20. Cannon defending flanks and rear. 21. Baggage-wagons. 22, 23, 24. Military stores and ammunition. 25. Mortars. 26. Road to the lake. 27. Bateaux on Lake George. 28. Four Storehouses. 29. Storehouse. 30. Iroquois Indians. 31. General Johnson's tent. 32. Major-General Lyman's regiment. 33. Colonel Harris' regiment. 34. Colonel Cockcroft's regiment. 35. Colonel Williams', now Colonel Pomroy's, regiment. 36. Colonel Ruggles' regiment. 37. Colonel Titcomb's regiment. 38. Colonel Guttridge's regiment. 39. Officers.

The heading of the map is not quite accurate in the number of troops stated to be engaged on both sides, and is quite inaccurate in the number stated to be killed on the side of the French.

I learn from SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., that the library of that institution contains another map of Lake George, &c., published by *Timothy Clement*, 1756. Mr. Haven has kindly copied for me the dedication, which is as follows:—

"To His Excellency William Shirley, Esq., Capt. General and Gov^r in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of y^e Massachusetts Bay in New England, Major General and Commander in chief of all his Majesty's Land forces in North America, And to y^e Legislators of the several Provinces concerned in y^e Expedition to Crown Point:—

"This Plan of Hudson Riv^r from Albany to Fort Edward, (and the Road from thence to Lake George as surveyed,) Lake George, the Narrows, Crown Point, part of Lake Champlain, with its South Bay, and Wood Creek, according to y^e best accounts from y^e French Gen^{ls} Plan & other observations, (by scale No. 1,) and an Exact Plan of Fort Edward, and William Henry, (by scale No. 2,) and y^e West end of Lake George, and of y^e Land defended on y^e 8th of Sept. last, & of our Army's intrenchment afterward, (by scale 3,) and sundry particulars respecting y^e late Engagement, with y^e distance and bearing of Crown point & Wood Creek from No. 4, by your most devoted Humble Serv^t.

"TIM^o CLEMENT, SURV^t,

"Haver^t, Feb. 10, 1756.

"Engraved & Printed by Thomas Johnston, Boston, New England, April, 1756."

Mr. Haven adds:—"The size of the Plan is 27 by 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches within the border-lines. It is in a frame."

*A Prospective View
under the command of Gen^l. JOHNSON & 2500 Fr*



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"TIMO CLEMENT, SURV^r,

"Haver^t, Feb. 10, 1756.

"Engraved & Printed by Thomas Johnston, Boston, New England, April, 1756."

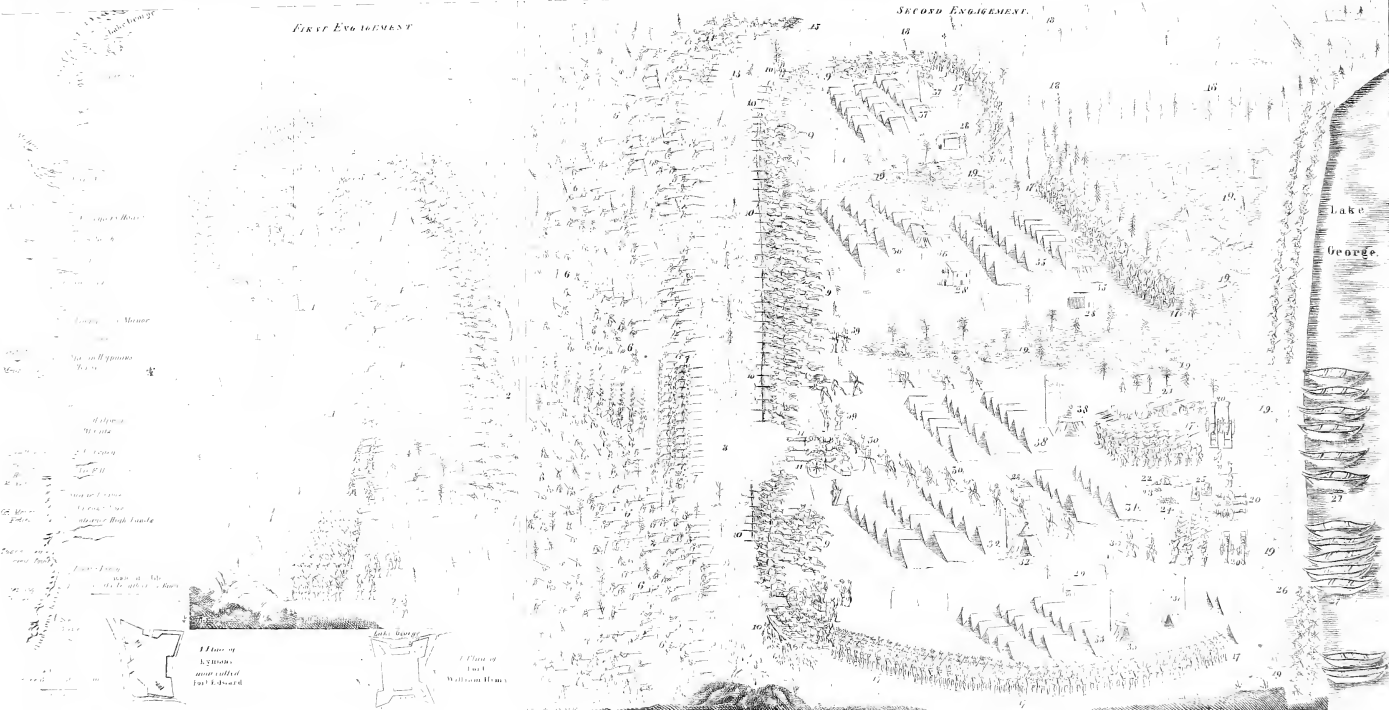
Mr. Haven adds:—"The size of the Plan is 27 by 17½ inches within the border-lines. It is in a frame."

A Prospective View of the *BATTLE* fought near Lake George, on the 8th of Sep^r 1755, between 2000 English, with 250 Mohawks.

against 1000 French & 2500 French Indians under the command of GEN^l. DIESEAU in which the English were victorious capturing the French Gen^l with a Number of his Men killing 700 & putting the rest to flight.

FIRST ENGAGEMENT

SECOND ENGAGEMENT



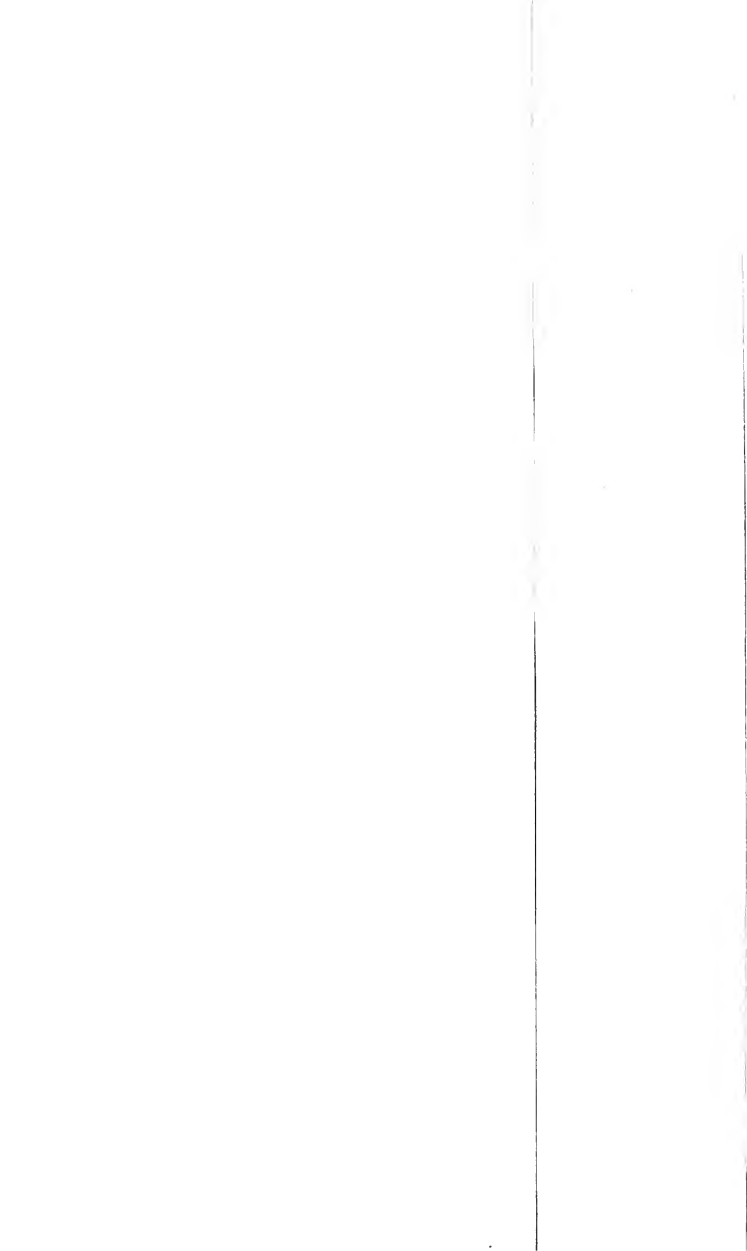


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THE END.

The avails of the sale of this Historical Discourse will be appropriated towards the erection of the projected MONUMENTS AT LAKE GEORGE AND VICINITY.

The reader is referred to Note XXVII, in the Appendix.